

# **PROGRAM**

**OF THE  
SOCIALIST  
UNITY PARTY  
OF  
GERMANY**

**ADOPTED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE  
SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY (SED),  
JANUARY 1963 IN BERLIN**

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# Introduction

## A New Epoch Has Begun

A new epoch has begun in the history of the German people, the epoch of socialism. It is the epoch of peace and social security, of human dignity and brotherhood, of freedom and equality, of humanism and the joy of life. The centuries-long exploitation of man by man is ended. The people, who create all value, are shaping their destiny, the destiny of the nation. "Everything with the people, everything through the people, everything for the people" is the principle of the new society.

The German Democratic Republic has already entered this new socialist epoch in Germany. Here the working class, in alliance with working farmers and the other sections of the working people, have taken over and mastered state power. This was possible because the decades-long split in the German working class was overcome through the union of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED).

For over a hundred years socialism has been the goal of the struggle of the revolutionary German working class movement, and as the result of its heroic and self-sacrificing struggle it was possible to achieve socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

On the eve of the Revolution of 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Germany's greatest sons, exposed with brilliant scientific foresight the historical collapse of the capitalist system and the triumph of socialism in their immortal "Communist Manifesto", the first scientific program of the German and international revolutionary working class. V. I. Lenin, the great leader of the Russian and international proletariat, further developed their teachings and applied them to the specific conditions in Russia. The Communist Party created by Lenin has led the socialist revolution to victory in one-sixth of the world.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin pointed out that the working class is called upon by history to be the grave-digger of the capitalist system and creator of the socialist system of society. The working class, led by its revolutionary party and in alliance with the working farmers and other working people, must conquer political power and complete the construction of socialism.

The truth of this has been confirmed many times in the first sixty years of this century. The great October Socialist Revolution ushered in world-wide changes. It introduced a new epoch in human history, the

epoch of socialism and communism. The Soviet Union which, as the only socialist country for decades was attacked and encircled by bitter enemies, has shown the whole of mankind the road to socialism under the leadership of its Communist Party, and has thus won eternal glory.

Since then many peoples of the various continents have taken the road to socialism. The powerful socialist camp, the world socialist system, has arisen. It grows stronger every day. In the Soviet Union socialism has been completed and the all-round construction of communism has begun. The essence and aim of communism is presented in the program adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — the "Communist Manifesto of the 20th Century".

The replacement of the old capitalist society by socialism is now on a world scale. The rule of international monopoly capital has been considerably restricted. Its colonial domination is disintegrating. The general crisis of capitalism is incessantly sapping its strength. The attempt to subject the oppressed and exploited peoples to new and still more refined exploitation by means of neo-colonialism is doomed to failure and can bring the imperialists no new forces. Socialism is increasingly determining the direction of the development of social processes and the relation of forces in the world. The socialist world system is increasingly becoming the determining factor in the world. This provides the real possibility to free the peoples from the scourge of war for the first time in the history of mankind. The strongest guarantee of peace and the security of the peoples is the Soviet Union.

The main content and basic law of development of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism. We are witnessing and taking part in the greatest revolution in history, which leads to the renewal of all social and political forms of existence. It leads to fundamental changes in ideology and culture and to the development of the man of the socialist epoch.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the party of socialism. It is the party of the working class and of all working people. It is the party of peace, national dignity and national unity. It struggles to overcome the division of the German nation brought about by German and foreign imperialists. It is the party of progress and democracy. It is a Marxist-Leninist party of struggle, and is inseparably linked with the great and steadily growing family of communist and workers' parties of all countries.

It is the immortal service of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to have overcome the division in the German working class and, together with all progressive and peace-loving forces, political parties and mass organizations in the German Democratic Republic united in the National Front of Democratic Germany, to have erected the foundations for the new epoch for the German people — dreamed of for many generations by the best and wisest Germans. It is the immortal service of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to have introduced the greatest

revolution in German history and to have led socialist relations of production to victory in the German Democratic Republic.

It is the unshakable aim of the Socialist Unity Party, together with the working people and for the German people, to shape the new socialist epoch and storm its heights on this firm foundation.

Socialism is the aim which, tomorrow, through the strength of the working class and the people, will become historical reality throughout Germany. This accords with the law of development of human society. Just as feudalism once made way for capitalism, so today capitalist rule must make way for a socialist society, throughout the world and also in Germany, not as the result of a war but through peaceful competition. That is our will and our aspiration. The future belongs to socialism not only in the German Democratic Republic but throughout Germany.

The great aim of this program is the complete and all-round construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. It is in the interests of all working people and requires their entire force, steadfastness and passion.

What is socialism?

Socialism means that the most progressive class in society, the working class, has taken power into its strong hands under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the working farmers and the other sections of the working people. The class of the capitalists and big landowners has been deprived of power for ever. The working class exercises state power, a profoundly democratic power, in alliance with the farmers and other working people, in the interests of and for the well-being of the entire people. This alliance, the firm friendship of the working classes, is the foundation of the workers' and farmers' power. All organs of the state, such as the judiciary, army, police and so on, serve the interests of the workers and farmers and all working people.

Socialism means that the great sources of wealth, all the important means of production, the factories, railways, the mineral resources, fields, waterways and forests, belong to the people who exploit them and work with them to create new wealth. They no longer belong to capitalist exploiters or feudal landowners. The work of millions of industrious people of our talented people no longer serves the profits of a handful of capitalists and Junkers but increases the wealth of the whole of society, the satisfaction of the requirements of society and of all working people. The causes of economic crises and of unemployment have been eliminated for ever. Capitalist economic anarchy has been replaced by the planned direction and development of socialist economy in accordance with the highest scientific and technical standards.

Socialism means a struggle to achieve a high labour productivity and to reach and share in determining world standards in production. This calls for the use of the most advanced science and technology, the mastery of the most modern production processes and qualified management and organization of the national economy. That is the basic condition for the regular, planned improvement in the people's living conditions.

The conquest of state power by the working people, the elimination of capitalist exploitation and the establishment of the workers' and farmers' power have paved the way for this. Improvements in living conditions now depend upon the achievements of the working people and especially upon a steady rise in labour productivity. Socialism recognizes and pays tribute to the achievements of each individual. In socialism the principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is valid.

Socialism means freedom from exploitation and freedom from fear of the future, equal opportunities of development for all. The educational privilege of the capitalist class has been abolished. All the achievements of science, technology and culture are available to the working people. Everyone has the opportunity to develop his abilities, to acquire an education and to unfold his personality. Men and women are completely equal, and all citizens are equal, irrespective of differences in world outlooks, religion, race, nationality or social position.

Socialism means that the relations between people are characterized by comradesly cooperation and mutual help. In socialism a community of free people begins to develop — of people linked by joint, free and creative work. The ideals of socialist morality — socialist patriotism, socialist internationalism, consciousness of responsibility to society, the love of work and working people, socialist work discipline — enable the community and the individual to act for the well-being of the people and for world peace.

Socialism means that there are no longer classes in power which have an interest in exploiting and oppressing their own or other peoples, or in war or conquest. Socialism is therefore the secure foundation of the friendship of the peoples and their peaceful coexistence. Socialism means peace.

Socialism is the first phase of communism.

Only socialism and communism can satisfy humanity's age-old longing for liberty, equality and fraternity, for peace, humanity and justice, for a cultured life in social security, a life of useful work and the joy of life.

Socialist development in the German Democratic Republic accords with all the needs of the German nation. It corresponds to the vital interests of the German people. Socialism promises them peace and a happy future. The German Democratic Republic is therefore the state which embodies historical progress and the national future of Germany. The workers' and farmers' state is the legitimate German state. It is the bulwark in the struggle of the entire German people for peace, democracy and socialism.

# Part One

## Way and Aim

### **I. The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Decline of German Imperialism in Accordance with the Laws of Social Development**

The decline of the old capitalist system based on the exploitation of man by man, the seizure of political power by the working class and the socialist revolution are historical necessities. The replacement of the old by a new social system is effected through bitter class struggles. This is a result of the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist ownership of its results.

The basic economic law and the sole aim of capitalist production is the realization of surplus value, to make profits for the capitalists. This is possible because under the capitalist system the capitalist class owns the most important means of production. It uses this ownership of the means of production to exploit the working class which is deprived of the instruments of production and therefore reduced to selling its labour power. As a result, there is an irreconcilable contradiction between capital and labour, between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Between them there can be no class harmony, no "social partnership".

The capitalists' and big landowners' drive for the highest profits at the same time sharpens capitalist competition. It inevitably leads to the ruin, expropriation and conversion into wage-labourers of hundreds of thousands of peasants, craftsmen and small and medium entrepreneurs. On the other hand, it leads to the concentration of the means of production in the hands of a small group of capitalist exploiters. The private capitalist form of ownership of the means of production and capitalist exploitation are linked with anarchy in production, with periodic crises, insecurity, unemployment, want and misery for wide sections of the working class and the other working people.

At the beginning of the 20th century, imperialism developed out of the concentration of production and capital, in Germany as in other industrial states. It is the unrestricted economic and political domination of the monopolies and of finance capital which resulted from the merger of industrial and bank capital. With the development of the rule of monopoly capital, capitalism entered into its final stage. Imperialism —

as V. I. Lenin stated -- is monopoly, parasitic or decaying capitalism; it is dying capitalism. All the contradictions of capitalism, primarily the contradiction between capital and labour, sharpen to such an extent as to make the seizure of power by the working class, that is the socialist revolution, an unavoidable necessity. Capitalist society as a whole is ripe for the socialist revolution.

Imperialism is inseparably linked with the development of state monopoly capitalism, in which the power of the monopolies fuses with state power to assure high profits for the monopolies, save the capitalist system and prepare for criminal wars. Monopoly capital uses the bourgeois state, regardless of its form for the time being, as an instrument of its domination. It employs the most diverse methods, including open fascist dictatorship, to exploit and oppress the working people and to carry out imperialist expansion. The development of state monopoly capitalism in Germany had already started before the First World War.

After the Second World War the concentration of production and of capital, monopolization, went ahead extremely rapidly in West Germany and the other capitalist countries. This was due particularly to militarization and armament. In West Germany, too, state monopoly capitalism unites the power of the monopolies with that of the state in a unified apparatus. By means of the state budget and with the help of state-owned enterprises, state banks, etc., the monopolies already appropriate annually more than half the national income. The merger of monopoly power with that of the West German state apparatus is primarily in the interest of the armament trusts and serves to militarize the economy as well as all social life. International state monopoly organizations like the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Coal and Steel Community and others are the decisive instruments for expanding the rule of the most powerful monopolies on the international level and for implementing their neo-colonialist endeavours.

In Germany imperialism was from the very beginning marked by particularly reactionary and aggressive characteristics. By its alliance with the reactionary Junkers and early transition to state monopoly capitalism, the German monopoly bourgeoisie created a basis for its aggressive policy, for militarization, for the oppression of the working class movement and all democratic forces. Imperialism is the negation of democracy, it is all-out reaction.

An essential characteristic of imperialism is its aggressive nature. The monopolies pursue an expansionist policy. They use their power to try to extend their economic, political and military domination to all parts of the globe and to dominate as much of the world as possible in the form of colonies, semi-colonies, spheres of influence, export markets, military bases, etc. The erratic, unequal economic and political development of the imperialist powers necessarily leads to a situation where the monopolies repeatedly demand the redivision of the world and seek to achieve it by economic, political and military means. Already at the beginning of the century the German bourgeoisie began to oppress other

peoples in the struggle for spheres of influence, colonies and sources of raw materials. It sought by every means to redivide the world. The expansion of German imperialism was one of the main causes of the First World War. Even after its defeat German imperialism did not abandon its aggressive plans. By the establishment of fascism, the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital, the big bourgeoisie strove not only to subject its own people but, above all, to subjugate and plunder other peoples. Fascist German imperialism concentrated its forces on establishing world domination, and particularly on the war against the Soviet Union. This mad adventure and crime ended where it was bound to end — in catastrophe. The Soviet people and their glorious army, together with their allies, inflicted a crushing military, political and moral defeat on Hitler fascism.

The development of state monopoly capitalism and the creation of international state monopoly associations cannot overcome the instability of the capitalist economy nor ensure a long period of prosperity. The decline of German imperialism is inevitable in that the development of German imperialism is taking place within the general crisis of capitalism which began during the First World War and steadily sharpened as the result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The general crisis of capitalism is an all-embracing crisis which emerges with the advancing decay and weakening of the capitalist system in the economic, political, cultural and ideological—moral spheres. Since the Second World War it has deepened and has now entered its third stage. The rapid growth and the increasing superiority of the socialist world system, the complete collapse of the imperialist colonial system as a result of the spread of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, and the development of the anti-imperialist democratic movement in the capitalist countries under the leadership of the communist and workers' parties have led to a considerable change in the conditions under which capitalism exists. In comparison with the flourishing socialist world economy and the successful construction of communism in the Soviet Union, imperialism is more clearly than ever characterized by exploitation and reaction, by decay and parasitism, by the lack of any way out of its situation and by its inhumanity.

The lack of a way out, decay and the decline of the capitalist system characterize the general historical tendency in imperialist development. But that does not mean complete inactivity of the productive forces and does not even exclude a rapid growth of capitalist production in certain periods. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of imperialism and its ability to attack actively at certain points along the economic front.

The development of productive forces, of modern science and technology results in a trend towards the internationalization of economic life. The imperialist powers and the monopolies try to exploit this objective trend for their own class interests with the help of international

state monopoly organizations. Integration, in particular within the European Economic Community, is designed to unite the imperialist powers into a firm bloc in the struggle against the socialist world system, regardless of all capitalist contradictions. Today Lenin's prediction that the association of the European imperialists is only possible in the form of an agreement "on how jointly to suppress socialism in Europe and how jointly to defend the stolen colonies..." has been confirmed. [V. I. Lenin, *Werke* (Works — German edition) Vol. 21, page 345.]

The European Economic Community and other international state monopoly organizations have become the principal form of imperialist controversy on the division of the capitalist world market and other spheres of influence among the monopolies since, in view of the strength of the socialist world system and of all peace forces the world over, war between the leading imperialist powers would put the very existence of imperialism in question. At the same time the imperialist powers aim at pursuing their neo-colonialist policies and at dominating the other capitalist states with the help of these organizations.

West German imperialism has gained a decisive influence within the European Economic Community. By means of new forms of cartels, capital mergers and so on, the West German monopolies have extended their power beyond West Germany and dominate many branches of West European production and markets. With the help of the European Economic Community and other international state monopoly organizations, West German imperialism is endeavouring to expand its economic, political and military predominance in Western Europe and to involve the other imperialist countries in its aggressive policy. The EEC is the economic basis of NATO in Western Europe. This favours the expansionist efforts of West German imperialism.

Neither the EEC nor any other international state monopoly organization can overcome the imperialist contradictions. The EEC has considerably increased the unequal economic and political development within the imperialist camp. Although the USA is the leading imperialist power, its share in the world economy has considerably decreased. The economic potential of the European Economic Community, together with that of other West European imperialist states, is approaching that of the USA. This is the source of new, deep imperialist contradictions and controversies. The creation of the "Common Market" by no means ensures a conflict-free and harmonious development of the capitalist economy of Western Europe because each member of the EEC pursues its own imperialist aims. Each tries to overcome its own difficulties at the expense of its partners and, above all, at the expense of the working class, the farmers and other sections.

With the help of state monopoly measures such as so-called "development aid", the imperialists are attempting to exploit the raw material resources of the former colonial and dependent countries with the aim of securing high profits and of keeping these countries in a state of

dependence. They hinder the development of an independent national economy in these countries. They try to stop the democratic development of the young nation-states and to prevent normal relations and economic cooperation between these states and the socialist camp. In pursuing its neo-colonialist policy of expansion, West German imperialism is taking advantage of its economic strength and of the fact that in the eyes of many peoples it is not incriminated as an old-style colonial power. In the last analysis, neo-colonialist expansion is being carried out at the expense of the working masses in West Germany. It therefore inevitably leads to a sharpening of the internal contradictions of West German imperialism.

History teaches that the German big bourgeoisie is the deadly enemy of the German people. It has always placed profits and class interests above the nation and the fatherland, above the interests of the people. German imperialism not only stepped up beyond all bounds the exploitation of the working class and of all working people. It also caused the physical annihilation of millions of people and endangered the existence and development of the entire nation. In two world wars German imperialism inflicted immeasurable sorrow and distress on our people and other peoples. More than ten years of imperialist war cost the lives of 9,940,000 Germans and many times that many people of other states. Each of these imperialist wars was a national catastrophe.

The anti-national role of German imperialism is particularly obvious in its attitude towards the Soviet Union. Despite the hopelessness of its aggressive plans West German imperialism and militarism today pursue a policy of enmity to the Soviet Union and the world power of socialism, a policy which runs contrary to all national interests and furthermore endangers the existence of the people of West Germany.

The imperialist big bourgeoisie has always misused the national sentiments of the German people. The arsenal of its poisoned ideological weapons includes unbridled anti-communism, chauvinism and revanchism, the barbarous race theory, the glorification of militarism and of all the reactionary traditions of German history. Chauvinism and the barbarous racial theories were advocated to justify the brutal oppression of and discrimination against national minorities. By its anti-humanist ideology and its moral depravity, too, the big bourgeoisie has proved that it has forfeited every right to lead the German nation.

German imperialism was able to carry out its anti-national, anti-popular policy only because it succeeded in splitting the working class. Out of its surplus profits monopoly capital corrupted the upper section of the workers — the labour aristocracy. With the help of right-wing leaders of Social Democracy and the trade unions the fighting power of the working class was undermined. They brought nationalism and chauvinism into the working class movement, supported colonialism and eventually many of them crossed over into the camp of imperialism.

They spread harmful revisionist theories on collaboration between capital and labour and asserted that capitalism ceases to be capitalism and grows into socialism. The ideology and policy of the right-wing social democratic and trade union leaders are irreconcilably opposed to the class interests of the social democratic workers and are causing a serious crisis within the Social Democratic Party. The interests of monopoly capital and of the German militarists are incompatible with the interests of the working class and of all other working people. The overcoming of German militarism and imperialism has become a vital question for the German people.

The defenders of the capitalist social system, from the champions of Catholic social dogma down to the right-wing leaders of Social Democracy, wish to salvage capitalism. They veil its true nature by re-baptising it. In reality capitalism was never at any point in its history a socially just order and it never can be one. The nature of capitalism does not change even though, in the course of its history, it passes through different stages, even though its forms and methods of exploitation change, and even though the transition from monopoly to state monopoly capitalism has been completed. Contrary to all predictions, theories and state monopoly measures by the monopolists and their eulogists, the economic law of periodic crisis is just as valid as it ever was. Under imperialism the cyclical development of the economy is closely connected with war preparations and war. This fact, as well as the influence of state monopoly capitalism, essentially changes the form of the individual cycles, increases the instability of the economy as a whole and intensifies the irregularity of the entire course of economic development with all ensuing consequences for the working class and the other working people.

The strength of the monopolies and their wealth continue to grow. To the same extent the share of the working people in the national income steadily decreases. The economic laws of capitalism accelerate not only the relative but also the absolute impoverishment of the working class. Capitalist application of new scientific and technological knowledge adds to the insecurity of the working people. In spite of the considerable technical progress and increases in production, the overwhelming majority of people in the capitalist world, especially in the economically less developed countries, today still live in want and misery. The German working class felt the whole impact of the process of impoverishment during the economic crises, during the years of inflation and particularly during the wars and the post-war periods. In West Germany the monopolies use the state to an ever-growing extent to employ methods of exploiting the majority of the population such as continuous inflationary price and tax increases, etc. In this way the workers are repeatedly deprived of a big part of the wage increases obtained in bitter struggles. With the help of the state democratic organizations are banned and democratic rights, especially the rights of

the trade unions, are gradually whittled away. The militarization of social life accelerates this process to an extraordinary degree.

Crises, intensified exploitation and war preparations worsen living conditions, reduce employment and endanger the health and lives of workers in capitalist society. Never before have the contradictions between a handful of extremely rich financial magnates and the majority of the people been so deep and irreconcilable as in present-day capitalism. The growing pressure of the monopolies, their robbery of the working class in order to ensure and to raise profits and to shift the growing armaments burden onto the working class as well as to secure the profitable export of capital compels the working class more than ever to close its ranks and to resist capitalist exploitation. The struggle of the working class and of the other working people to protect and improve their material situation is of growing importance at the present period. Under the conditions of state monopoly capitalism this struggle must be increasingly directed against the monopoly state and its policies. That is why economic and political struggles are becoming inseparable in the capitalist countries. The working class of West Germany and the other capitalist countries is supported in the class struggle by the existence, the successful development and policy of the entire socialist world system, whose successes and — last but not least — the successes achieved by the German Democratic Republic, are compelling the West German big bourgeoisie to make concessions to the working class.

The concentration of production and capital, the establishment of the big monopolies and the development of state monopoly capitalism as well as the international monopoly organizations, strengthen the material conditions for the replacement of capitalism by socialism. The monopolies socialize production on a large scale, but the fruits of this development of social production are pocketed by a few dozen powerful monopoly rulers. The basic irreconcilable contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation of the fruits of labour can only be solved through the elimination of the capitalist ownership of the means of production and their conversion into socially owned property.

This is the historic mission of the working class. The working class can free itself from exploitation and pave the way for social productive forces only if it seizes political power and carries out the transition to socialism by means of socialist revolution in alliance with the working farmers and the other working people.

Socialism is the result of objective historical developments, the result of the struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. With the transition from capitalism to socialism the spontaneous operation of the economic laws, which is characteristic of capitalist society, is replaced by the conscious planned development of society in the interests and for the benefit of the people.

## **II. The Struggle of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for the Anti-Fascist Democratic Revolution. Foundation of the First German Workers' and Farmers' State**

The laws of social development have set the German working class the historic task of eliminating the capitalist rule of exploitation in Germany once and for all and of leading socialism to victory in alliance with the working farmers and the other working sections of the population. The working class is the main social force of society; it is the spearhead of all forces which struggle against imperialism and for a better future for the people. It is called upon to take over the leadership of the nation and, by eliminating imperialism and militarism, to resolve the contradiction between the aggressive imperialist policy of monopoly capital and the peaceful interests of the German people.

In many decades of bitter and devoted struggle against the anti-national and anti-social policy of the imperialist big bourgeoisie and its supporters, the right-wing social democratic leadership, the working class in Germany became the leading force of the nation, thanks to the untiring activity of its Marxist-Leninist party, and acquired the ability to fulfil its historic mission. The revolutionary forces of the German working class have always waged the struggle for the social and national liberation of the German people, for the vital interests of the nation, and for the maintenance and safeguarding of peace, from the foundation of the revolutionary German working class movement by Marx and Engels, the creation of the mass revolutionary party of the German proletariat by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, the passionate condemnation of German militarism and imperialist war by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to the heroic resistance of the German Communist Party under the leadership of Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht against reaction and fascism, against the criminal predatory war of fascist German imperialism.

The defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Union and her allies in the anti-Hitler coalition marked the beginning of a new period in German history. The German people faced the urgent necessity of learning the lessons from two world wars and fascist rule and, under the leadership of the working class, of taking the great national opportunity to bring about the final and complete elimination of imperialism and militarism from Germany. It was necessary to put an end to war and aggression once and for all, to lead Germany on the road to peace, democracy and socialism and to assure a policy of friendship, above all with the Soviet Union.

Only the complete uprooting of imperialism and militarism guarantees a peaceful future of the German nation. This historic task was on the agenda throughout the whole of Germany. There were favourable conditions for carrying out the main national task. These were the changed relation of forces in the world, the fact that at the of the Second World War the Soviet Union was among the victorious powers, and the pro-

visions of the Potsdam Agreement for the denazification, demilitarization and democratization of the whole of Germany. There was a real possibility for creating a peace-loving and democratic Germany. The united front of the working class and the union of all the anti-fascist democratic forces would also have compelled the western powers to refrain from carrying out many planned measures directed against the national and social interests of the German people.

In accordance with historical requirements and concrete conditions in Germany, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) outlined in its programmatic appeal of 11 June 1945 the main tasks and next steps in the anti-fascist democratic revolution: the consistent completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution and the creation of an anti-fascist democratic system under the leadership of the working class. Working class unity is the most important condition for victory over imperialism and militarism and for building up a new social system. The appeal of the Communist Party of Germany formed the basis for the united front of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). In the struggle to learn the lessons of the past, in comradely cooperation in carrying out the vitally important measures, and despite the resistance of the right-wing SPD leaders, the union of the KPD and the SPD was effected on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and in April 1946 the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was founded. It was a historic moment when Wilhelm Pieck, in the name of the KPD, and Otto Grotewohl, in the name of the SPD, shook hands and thus sealed the unity of the working class.

The foundation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was the greatest achievement of the German working class since the Communist Manifesto, the creation of the revolutionary working class movement in Germany and the foundation of the Communist Party of Germany in 1918.

Of great importance to the unity of the working class and its historic task was the establishment of unified free trade unions. The establishment of working class unity created favourable conditions for a firm alliance with the farmers, with the intelligentsia and other sections, and for the union of all anti-fascist democratic forces.

The tasks of the anti-fascist democratic revolution were carried out in the east of Germany. Protected by the Soviet army against imperialist military intervention, the working people were able here to set an example of peaceful and democratic revolution, to develop their energies and to break the resistance put up by reaction. The fascist state apparatus was smashed and in its place anti-fascist democratic state power was built from the bottom to the top. In form it was a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers in which the working class occupied the decisive positions. In the struggle to carry out the anti-fascist democratic revolution the basis was created for the development of true democracy.

With the democratic land reform the bourgeois democratic revolution was completed, the power of the Junkers and big landowners was broken and the land returned to those who cultivate it. Thus with the assistance of the working class and its revolutionary party, the centuries-long injustice inflicted on the peasants was righted. The alliance of the working class with the working farmers was given a firm basis.

With the punishment of war criminals and active nazis, and the expropriation of those who had a vested interest in and profited from the war, the rule of monopoly capital was broken. The people took their enterprises into their own hands. Thus the nationally-owned sector became the firm social economic foundation of the anti-fascist democratic system.

With the democratic school reform, privileged education for the owning class was eliminated and the foundation laid for a democratic education of young people. As the result of its purposeful youth policy our party succeeded in weaning young people away from the influence of fascist ideology and educating them to a very considerable extent in a spirit of democracy, humanism and understanding among the peoples.

With the help of economic planning the working people, overcoming great difficulties, succeeded in reaching the pre-war production level. The development of working class consciousness was expressed particularly in the Hennecke movement and in the spread of the activist movement. The Socialist Unity Party contributed to implementing and consolidating land reform and assisting small and medium farmers, developing personal initiative among craftsmen and small businessmen, and promoting the educational system and the democratic renewal of culture.

In the west of Germany this historic task was not carried out; the old disastrous road of imperialism and militarism was taken anew. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution the maintenance of reactionary imperialist rule in Germany and the prevention of the victory of the German working class has been a vital aim not only of German imperialism but of all imperialist powers, especially US imperialism. The imperialist western powers deliberately violated the Potsdam Agreement and, in alliance with German reaction and the right-wing SPD leaders, prevented the unification of the working class and the carrying out of the anti-fascist democratic revolution. An economy based on profit-making by the monopolists, bankers and big landowners was restored with the help of American loans. The fascist profiteers, Hitler's economic experts and generals were brought back into their positions of power. The German big bourgeoisie entered into an alliance with the imperialist western powers because it feared the democratic demands of the people and because it was determined to maintain its rule. By exploiting the consequences of the war for its own purposes, it misused the plight of the people to stir up chauvinism and anti-communism. By unrestrained anti-communist propaganda and slander against the democratic revolution in the east of Germany, the right-wing SPD leaders prevented the union of the working class in West Germany and exposed

the working masses of the western zones to the ideological influence of the big bourgeoisie.

The policy of restoring the aggressive forces of imperialism and militarism was linked with the gradual division of Germany. Despite the resistance of the peace-loving, anti-fascist and democratic forces among the German people, united in the People's Congress for Unity and a Just Peace, the West German big bourgeoisie, together with the imperialist western powers, began splitting off the western zones from the German national community. In this way it sought to protect its positions of power in at least one part of Germany and to create a basis for its policy of revenge and war preparations. By the foundation of Bi-zonia in 1946 and of Tri-zonia in 1947, by the London recommendations and the separate currency reform in 1948 the establishment of the separate west zone was systematically prepared and finally effected in 1949. Reactionary forces, backed by the imperialist occupation powers, seized power in West Germany. The Bonn state was not created as a result of self-determination, by the free decision of the German people, but against their will in violation of the Potsdam Agreement and in disregard of the national interests of the German people. This characterizes it as a state of injustice, as an anti-national state, bearing the full responsibility for the division of Germany.

In order to block the road to German imperialism once and for all and to create a bastion of peace, in order to protect the national interests of the German people, the democratic and patriotic forces in Germany, united in the National Front of Democratic Germany, founded the German Democratic Republic on 7 October 1949. The foundation of the German Democratic Republic proved to be a turning point in the history of the German people. It was the heaviest blow against aggressive German imperialism since its disastrous defeat in the Second World War. Once and for all German imperialism was deprived of one-third of Germany and the road to the East was blocked. Thus the foundation of the German Democratic Republic was also a turning point in the history of Europe. For the first time a peaceful German state came into being, opposed to the aggressive plans of German imperialism and militarism and which, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as all peace-loving people, safeguards peace in Europe.

The struggle between the anti-fascist democratic forces and the imperialist reactionary forces in Germany resulted in the formation of two German states with fundamentally different social systems: the German Democratic Republic, a workers' and farmers' state and the first German peace state, and the West German state of imperialists and militarists. Whereas the imperialist West German state stands in contradiction to historical experiences and the requirements of the German nation, the German Democratic Republic is the legitimate German state which represents the real interests of the nation. From the very beginning the German Democratic Republic has been able to count on the friendship

and fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The workers' and farmers' state is the legitimate German state because it has implemented the aims for which the peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces among the German people made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle against Hitler fascism, as well as the principles of the anti-Hitler coalition. It is the legitimate German state because it has uprooted German imperialism and militarism once and for all, because its policy is based on the peaceful interests of the German people and because, for the first time in German history, it has made the people the sovereign and unrestricted masters of their destiny.

### **III. The Transition from the Anti-fascist Democratic to the Socialist Revolution and the Construction of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic**

The contradiction between the aggressive policy of monopoly capital and the peaceful interests of the German people has been solved in the German Democratic Republic by the anti-fascist democratic revolution. Thus the prerequisite for the peaceful transition to the socialist revolution, to the workers' and farmers' power and to the construction of socialism was created. The socialist character of state power developed with the foundation of the German Democratic Republic and the transition to the socialist revolution. The anti-fascist democratic system became the workers' and farmers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The consolidation and strengthening of the workers' and farmers' power, the change in the relation of forces in the world in favour of the forces of socialism and peace as well as the fraternal alignment of the German Democratic Republic with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries enabled the working people to bring about the socialist transition and the construction of socialism by peaceful, democratic methods. In West Germany the anti-fascist democratic revolution was prevented and the natural development of socialism was arrested for a certain period by the alliance of the occupation powers with the monopoly capitalist reactionary state power. At the same time the West German imperialists and militarists made every effort to interfere with the development of the German Democratic Republic, to undermine the workers' and farmers' power and to regain their domination over the whole of Germany. The working people were faced with the task of strengthening and consolidating the German Democratic Republic and of proving, by the construction of socialism, that the working people are able to set an example of a peace-loving Germany and to solve all the political, economic and cultural problems of Germany.

The transition to a socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic met both the requirements of economic development and the interests of the working class and all working people. Overcoming want, eliminating the aftermath of war and ensuring

the constant improvement of the material and cultural living conditions of the people called for a rapid development of the productive forces and a considerable increase in labour productivity. This again presupposed a further strengthening of the nationally-owned sector of the economy, unified socialist planning and the utilization of the economic laws of socialism. The national use of modern technology and the application of scientific knowledge to increase agricultural yields became possible only with the transition from private farming to cooperative production. In order to meet the requirements of society and the standards of modern science and technology as well as to achieve a high educational standard, the educational system had to be remodelled, with the introduction of polytechnical education and instruction in the schools. The training of the new socialist intelligentsia in the universities, colleges and technical schools had to be linked closely with practical life. In order to achieve the full development of the creative abilities of the people and a life of culture for all working people, it was essential to expand the democratic renewal in the spirit of peace and humanism through the development of a socialist culture.

The creation of the foundations of socialism began with the first Five Year Plan which envisaged a hitherto unprecedented tempo in the development of the forces of production. In the course of the first Five Year Plan industrial production was doubled as compared to 1936, a metallurgical base was created, productive capacity in engineering was considerably expanded and chemical production significantly increased. Among the important plants built were the East Foundry Complex, the Low-shaft Furnace Works in Calbe and the Warnow Shipyard at Warnemünde. With the help of machine lending stations working farmers raised yields above pre-war levels. In a number of villages groups of working farmers changed over to joint field cultivation. The task of the Five Year Plan to raise the living standards of the working people above pre-war levels was overfulfilled. Freed from exploitation, the working class became the real leading force of society in the course of the first Five Year Plan.

On the basis of the foundations of socialism achieved by 1958, the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany laid down the further tasks for expanding the economic base and consolidating socialist relations of production. After the Fifth Party Congress the socialist reconstruction of industry was begun. Labour productivity was increased by speeding up scientific and technical progress. Nationally-owned property increased more than two-and-a-half times between 1950 and 1961. Since the beginning of the first Five Year Plan the volume of industrial production has more than trebled. In agriculture market production was increased. GDR foreign trade increased more than six-fold. The living standards of the working people improved steadily. In the years of socialist construction new towns, such as Eisenhüttenstadt and Hoyerswerda were built, as well as industrial plants such as the "Schwarze Pumpe" (Black Pump lignite complex), new power stations, many new schools, cultural

centres and housing. They have changed the German Democratic Republic and testify to the enormous creative force of our people. The German Democratic Republic is one of the most productive industrial states in the world. The German Democratic Republic supplies the socialist countries with highly efficient machinery and industrial equipment, chemical products and consumer goods of all kinds.

The economic construction of socialism took place in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist states, which since 1949 has taken place through the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, is guided by the principles of socialist internationalism and the objective requirements of the development of the productive forces of the socialist camp.

Until 13 August 1961 economic construction went ahead with open borders under conditions of a sharp class struggle with West German imperialism and militarism. The aggressive revanchist policy of West German ruling circles against the German Democratic Republic was expressed through the disruption of trade between the two German states, through economic espionage and sabotage, currency speculation, the luring away of scientists and specialists and other methods. During the course of many years the imperialist forces in West Germany made immense profits out of the open frontiers at the expense of the citizens of the German Democratic Republic. Together with the imperialist western powers they converted West Berlin into a NATO base, a centre of espionage and subversion against the German Democratic Republic. By securing the frontier with West Berlin and West Germany, the workers' and farmers' power foiled the attacks of West German imperialism and its attempts at economic disruption.

The planned proportional development of the national economy was difficult because the arbitrary division of Germany meant that the German Democratic Republic was cut off from the basic industries which are mainly situated in West Germany. Most of the works taken over from capitalism were obsolete and closely geared to West German monopoly capitalist enterprises. The resulting imbalance in the national economy required unusually big investments for the creation of our own basic industry and other important branches of the national economy. War damages on the territory of the German Democratic Republic were far bigger than in West Germany because the fascist armies fought in East Germany with a final bitter effort and, in withdrawing, caused immense destruction. The working people of the German Democratic Republic deemed it their national duty to recompense by reparations at least part of the enormous devastation caused by the Hitler war, above all in the Soviet Union.

The working class and all other working people performed heroic deeds in the construction of socialism. Socialist emulation and team work between workers, scientists and engineers in socialist work teams and in

the socialist labour and research groups became the chief form of struggle to complete the economic plans, the chief lever of social progress.

In the countryside, the socialist revolution was achieved by all farmers changing over to cooperative production. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany assisted in the promotion of agricultural production cooperatives and close comradely collaboration between cooperative and working private farmers. It assisted the efforts of the private farmers to join cooperatives. The transition to the cooperative mode of production was a slow process. It took place in the face of severe class struggle and the resistance of reactionary forces in the village. It eliminated all sources of the revival of forms of exploitation in the countryside and liberated the farmers from the fetters of small-scale production whose narrow confines gave limited scope to their abilities and initiative. It was the only way gradually to overcome the centuries-old backwardness of the village, this burdensome heritage of feudalism and capitalism, and to bring town and countryside closer together. The formation of agricultural production cooperatives led to the solving of the contradiction between socialist industry and private small-scale production in the countryside.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany developed forms and methods corresponding to conditions in the German Democratic Republic to make it easier for the petty bourgeoisie in the cities, the craftsmen and the small and medium businessmen consciously and voluntarily to take the road of socialist transformation. The craftsmen began to go over to socialist methods by uniting in production cooperatives. Private retailers concluded agency contracts with socialist trading organizations; small and medium businessmen applied for state partnership in their enterprises. The transformation of many hitherto private enterprises into semi-state enterprises represents a new approach. It demonstrates how the limitation and elimination of the vestiges of capitalist exploitation is achieved peacefully and without coercion in the GDR. The expert knowledge of the owners is utilized for socialism. People in this category thus retain good prospects both for themselves and their families.

In the German Democratic Republic social ownership of the means of production in the form of nationally-owned property and cooperatively-owned property has become the firm economic foundation of society. In industry as well as in agriculture and trade socialist relations of production have emerged victorious in the course of the construction of socialism.

In 1961 84.9 per cent of the gross national product was created under socialist relations of production, 70.2 per cent in nationally-owned and 14.7 per cent in cooperatively-owned enterprises. The share of semi-state enterprises — including retail trade enterprises with commission contracts — amounted to 6.4 per cent, and the share of private enterprises was 8.7 per cent. In industry 89.0 per cent of gross production was in socialist plants.

The victory of socialist production relations, in agriculture, too, is the basic condition for the full effectiveness of the economic laws of social-

ism. However, in the period after the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, especially in 1960 and 1961, the economic laws of socialism could not operate fully because they were hindered by the aggressive policy and systematic interference of the West German imperialists. As a result, the solution of economic tasks was made more difficult and partly delayed.

With the victory of the socialist relations of production in all spheres of the national economy, the social and economic possibilities of restoring capitalism in the German Democratic Republic have been removed once and for all. The capitalist class has vanished, there is no longer either a big bourgeoisie or big landowners. The former big farmers have been incorporated into agricultural production cooperatives. Thus the system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated once and for all, and the class antagonism inherent in an exploiting society has been almost completely overcome. Nor can this fact be basically changed by the continued existence of small and medium sized private enterprises, as these are closely linked with the socialist economy. The elimination of the exploitation of man by man and of economic crises, unemployment and social insecurity for the working class is the biggest social achievement of socialism.

The motive power of social development in the German Democratic Republic is no longer the economic laws of capitalism — the few enriching themselves at the expense of the people, merciless competitive struggles, and exploitation and oppression of the working people. In the struggle to overcome capitalism in the German Democratic Republic the economic laws of socialism became increasingly effective and the social motive power. Bitter class struggle was replaced by comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, by joint work for the benefit of society and of each individual. The political and moral unity of all citizens of the German Democratic Republic is increasingly developing on the basis of the evolution of socialist relations of production and the socialist economic system and the changes they effect in the consciousness of the people.

A new socialist relationship is also developing between the German and the Sorb population. In joint socialist construction the Sorb national minority overcame the backwardness left over from the period of national oppression and today occupies a position of complete equality in all fields of social life in the GDR.

Basic changes have taken place in the relations between the various classes and strata of the people, and the state and society, in their political consciousness and activity. The class consciousness and political maturity of the working class are constantly increasing. The working class and the cooperative farmers are friendly allies in the working classes. The further strengthening of the socialist consciousness of the cooperative farmers is achieved in the process of developing good cooperative work for increased agricultural production and in mastering advanced science, technology and management. The intelligentsia has

become closely allied with the working class and the cooperative farmers. The gulf — created by the bourgeoisie — between the working class and intelligentsia has been largely overcome. It has been replaced by a close alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia. The majority of the young socialist intellectuals comes from the working class and the class of cooperative farmers. The middle classes and the craftsmen have also undergone changes. They are changing from individual small producers to people engaged in socialist work.

The German workers' and farmers' power and its policy is a thorn in the side of the die-hards and exploiting classes who have been forced out by history. The victory of a people freed from exploitation and despotism can hardly be to the liking of those who tyrannized and plundered the nation for centuries and who drove it into senseless wars of conquest and mass graves. The defenders of the old capitalist system condemned to defeat, from the West German imperialists, the Hitler generals and NATO bishops to the right-wing SPD leaders, leave no stone unturned, shrink from no crime to obstruct the new socialist society. From West Germany and West Berlin they wage bitter class struggles against the German Democratic Republic. Their efforts are in vain. There is no way to halt the progress of history.

The socialist state is the chief instrument for constructing socialism. The formation of the new socialist state power comes about through difficult struggle against the vestiges of capitalism in the state structure, in national and legal conceptions and in the methods of work of the state organs. The decisive guarantee for the transition from the anti-fascist democratic system to the socialist statehood was the leadership of all democratic and peace-loving forces by the working class and its party, and further development and constant consolidation of the alliance of the working class and all other classes and sections of the people. The cooperation of several parties under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which proved so valuable during the construction of the anti-fascist democratic system was successfully continued and still further strengthened. Socialist state power is based on the National Front of Democratic Germany which developed out of the anti-fascist democratic movement — the "Free Germany" National Committee and the People's Congress Movement — into a broad socialist people's movement. The growing strength of the socialist state power is seen in the fact that socialist democracy is constantly being extended and deepened by the conscious and direct participation of the working people in the leadership of the state and the economy.

Fundamental changes in the fields of ideology and culture are an inherent part of the socialist revolution. Already during the anti-fascist democratic revolution, the fascist and imperialist legacy in the minds of the people was largely overcome as a result of the ideological influence of the Socialist Unity Party and by its constant grappling with reactionary forces. It is to the credit of the Socialist Unity Party that in spite of constant ideological influences from imperialist West Germany,

revanchism, chauvinism and racism no longer find sanctuary in the German Democratic Republic. Instead, friendship among the peoples, socialist internationalism and patriotism are essential qualities of the new social consciousness. Particularly important is the genuine friendship which developed between the Soviet peoples and the citizens of the German Democratic Republic and progressive circles in West Germany. The Socialist Unity Party policy has realized the ideals of humanism and friendship among the peoples. It is heir to all the progressive traditions of the German working class and democratic and humanist forces of the German people. It promotes education, science, culture and the arts and makes every effort to develop an educated socialist nation. The moral principles laid down in the code of moral conduct by the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are of great importance.

The State Treaty concluded between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an expression of the growing strength of and esteem for the German Democratic Republic. The State Treaty was a contractual confirmation of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. It explicitly recognized the right of the German Democratic Republic to make decisions above all on questions of German national policy. The working people will always be grateful to the Soviet Union for its great help in the construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union's friendship and close cooperation is a pledge for the maintenance of peace and further progress on the road to socialism.

The German Democratic Republic has always tried to develop the struggle against the revival of imperialism and militarism in West Germany and for German reunification on a democratic basis. This was the aim of its proposals for an all-German rapprochement, for all-German free elections and for the conclusion of a peace treaty. The patriotic struggle of all forces united in the National Front of Democratic Germany was fully backed by the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the other states of the socialist camp and by the peace forces of the world. The Soviet draft peace treaty dated 10 March 1952, especially, supported the only possible road to a peaceful solution of the German question. The West German government rejected all these proposals for the safeguarding of peace and for all-German understanding. It supported rearmament to the maximum extent in order to achieve its imperialist aims through a "policy of strength". The open remilitarization of West Germany began in 1953 in violation of the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. The decisive stage of remilitarization and the transformation of West Germany into the major hotbed of war in Europe came with the conclusion of the Paris Treaties in 1954 and the inclusion of West Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty (1955). The significance of the Paris Treaties is that the West German big bourgeoisie has renounced state sovereignty and a national policy.

West German imperialism has allied itself with US imperialism and hopes to achieve its revanchist aims with its help. US imperialism on the other hand envisages West German imperialism as playing the role of shock troops against the socialist camp. As a result of its economic and military growth and its so-called European policy, German imperialism has obtained a position with the help of the EEC which enables it to play a special role. It increasingly becomes the focal point for all reactionary forces in Western Europe. It is a rival of the other imperialist powers, including the USA, for a position of supremacy in Western Europe and in the countries of Africa and Asia. West German imperialism is now so powerful that the USA is dependent upon its consent in carrying out its imperialist policies so far as European problems are concerned. Nevertheless, West German dependency on US imperialism continues.

The anti-national policy of the ruling West German imperialist circles accords with the nature of decaying capitalist society. The West German state is a fundamentally anti-national state whose features are determined by the power policy aims of West German imperialism and the international finance groups, particularly American, with which it is closely linked. The West German state is a militarist clerical dictatorship of the most reactionary monopoly groups which are especially closely linked with US and French monopoly capital. Power in West Germany is in the hands of the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist and militarist extremists. They are the representatives of those groups of West German finance capital which ruled during the period of Hitler fascism. Together with the ultra-reactionary monopoly groups of the USA and other NATO states they make up the most extremist wing of world imperialism. Aggressive revanchist demands are essential traits of West German imperialist foreign policy.

State monopoly capital in West Germany wields power with the assistance of the military power apparatus and state bureaucracy in which the old fascists — the Hitler generals, nazi diplomats and hanging judges — hold the key positions. The big bourgeoisie is fanning revanchism and cultivating a new big power chauvinism in the form of the so-called European ideology, which is nothing but the ideological expression of the expansionist aims of West German finance capital. Anti-communism has become the chief content of the ideology of West German imperialism. It is directed against the communists and the working class, and even against all democratic and understanding-seeking elements in the big bourgeoisie which strive for normal peaceful, economic, political and cultural relations with the socialist countries. Anti-communism is the common ideological platform of the West German imperialist parties. At the same time the German imperialists, with the support of the reactionary clergy — especially of the Catholic church, but also of a number of Evangelical church leaders — are misusing religion to pursue their aggressive revenge-seeking aims under the guise of

pioneers of Christianity and "Western Civilization". The state monopoly capital ideology in West Germany is suffocating cultural and spiritual life and promoting neo-nazism. It also belittles the crimes and atrocities of German imperialism so as to poison the people once again with chauvinism and revanchism.

As in the past, the imperialist big bourgeoisie is able to conduct its anti-national policy, in violation of the interests of the working class and the whole nation, only because it is supported by the right-wing social democratic and trade union leaders. These leaders support the aggressive NATO policies and take over the arguments and demands of revanchism and chauvinism. Their ideology is blind anti-communism, hostility to socialism and to Marxist-Leninist ideas. They have sided with the bourgeoisie and have become estranged from the working class in whose strength and historic mission they have no faith. The policy and ideology of these right-wing leaders is a complete rejection of the traditions and aims of the German working class movement, conflicting with the needs of today, which therefore cannot be approved by members of the Social Democratic Party or the trade unions who want peace, disarmament and understanding. They are becoming increasingly hostile to monopoly capital rule, demanding a struggle for the social and political aims of the working people.

The reformist forces among the social democratic leadership are spreading the illusion within the West German working class that within the frame-work of state monopoly rule and modern industrial development, capitalism will voluntarily make way for a just social order. But in fact in West Germany we do not witness a decline but an increase in class conflicts and, in fact, the reactionary, anti-popular character of the West German state is becoming ever clearer.

The ruling circles of the imperialist big bourgeoisie and the militarist extremists are incapable of preventing a further sharpening of imperialist contradictions. The temporary economic upswing in West Germany is due to the large credits extended by the USA which served to strengthen West German imperialism again, to the expenditure of substantial sums to modernize and rationalize production, to intensified exploitation of the working class and to increased plundering by the big monopolies of the working masses including the peasants. Because of increasing capitalist competition, the development of the West German economy is characterized by increasing insecurity, all the more so as the other imperialist powers are no longer willing as hitherto to continue economic concessions to West German imperialism.

A role of steadily growing importance in the sharpening of economic and political contradictions in West German imperialism is played by the economic measures to accelerate the arms drive and imperialist expansion. The soaring costs of armaments as well as of the neo-colonialist policy are being unloaded upon the working class and all other working people in West Germany. The contradictions between the forces of monopoly

capital driving towards war and the majority of the West German people interested in maintaining and strengthening peace are deepening. Thus there are increasingly favourable conditions for the development of a broad popular movement for the maintenance of peace.

The working class is the decisive social force for the overcoming of imperialism and militarism in West Germany. The working class may no longer be excluded from West German policy. It must exercise a determining influence, but it can only do so if a united front of social democratic, communist, Christian and non-party workers is formed and if the working class makes its influence felt in an organized and politically effective manner. The united front of the West German workers develops in the course of the struggle against atomic armament and for the safeguarding of peace. It develops in the struggle for social and political demands, such as higher wages, against intensified exploitation, against price increases, and for equal pay for women. It develops in the struggle against the emergency powers legislation, for democratic rights, for the right of association, assembly and the press.

The most consistent anti-imperialist and national force in West Germany is the Communist Party, persecuted and driven underground by the imperialists and militarists. It is fighting for peace and disarmament, for democratic liberties, for the rights of the working class and their economic demands, against the exploitation and the deprivation of the masses of the people of their rights. The lifting of the ban on the Communist Party is essential to the vital interests of the working class and the entire nation.

The trade unions have a great responsibility in the development of the working class struggle. At present they are the only legal West German working class organization with a big influence among the masses and strong organizational power. Thus they are the most advantageous basis for bringing about united action of the social democratic, communist, Christian and non-party workers. The trade unions in West Germany are called upon to represent not only the social and economic but above all the political interests and aims of the working class.

The West German working class can play its leading role only if it concludes a firm alliance with the West German peasantry and wages a struggle for a democratic change in the situation together with the intelligentsia and other middle strata. The working class takes over the progressive demands of all strata of the population and backs them in their struggle for their own demands. The democratic development of West Germany into a peaceful state depends upon the defeat of militarism and imperialism by an alliance of all national, peace-loving realistic thinking forces of all social strata and parties, irrespective of their social position and world outlook. A peaceful, democratic transition from capitalism to socialism in West Germany depends upon the creation of democratic relations and the restriction of the power of the monopolies.

#### **IV. The Peace Policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Solution of the National Question in Germany**

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers the safeguarding of the nation from war and annihilation and the securing of a lasting peace as the main question of our time. It wants to ban war from the life of the German people for ever. It wants to eliminate the source of war in West Germany and West Berlin, and to put an end to the unbearable situation of two German states facing each other in a hostile manner. It wants to prevent a fratricidal war. The fight against militarism and against the war policy of the ruling class has always been one of the best sides of the revolutionary German working class movement.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany pursues a policy based on Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism, conducted in Germany, too, on the basis of economic, political and cultural competition between the two opposing systems. Whereas the German Democratic Republic stands for peaceful coexistence, the aggressive forces of West German monopoly capitalism pursue a policy of imperialist expansion. Their aims are directed towards launching war. As the existence of the German people depends on the maintenance of peace a policy of peaceful coexistence is also necessary in West Germany.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany firmly keeps to its aim of restoring the national unity of Germany and overcoming the division caused by the imperialist western powers in alliance with West German monopoly capital. Since Marx and Engels began their work, the struggle for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany is one of the good traditions of the revolutionary German working class movement.

It is impossible to overcome the division of Germany without an assured peace. Peace and national unity are therefore inseparably linked with the policy of the Socialist Unity Party. In order to maintain peace and restore the unity of Germany the West German imperialists and militarists must be deprived of their power. These latter talk hypocritically about unity while barring the way to reunification by carrying on their aggressive NATO policy and turning down any attempt to come to an understanding between the two German states.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is convinced that the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the removal of the NATO bases and the occupation regime in West Berlin and its transformation into a Free City would provide favourable prerequisites for a rapprochement between the two German states, which would be further promoted by their admission to the United Nations.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is of the opinion that peaceful coexistence in Germany can best be achieved by a confederation of the two German states; the Free City of West Berlin could also join the confederation. The formation of a German confederation can be introduced with the establishment of a minimum of correct relations and agreements

between the German Democratic Republic, the West German Federal Republic and the Free City of West Berlin. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany submits the following principles for the formation of such a confederation:

The confederation should be based on the sovereignty and equality of the two German states and the Free City of West Berlin. It creates no central state power over them and would require no change in their social systems. The organs of the confederation would confer and adopt recommendations to the parliaments and governments of its members. The recommendations would above all seek to achieve the following:

The safeguarding of a lasting peace for the German people. The implementation of the terms of the peace treaty. The prohibition of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon carriers.

The gradual reduction of the military obligations arising from the two German states' membership in different power groups.

Military neutrality and total disarmament.

The coordination of the participation of the members of the German confederation in international organizations.

The establishment and extension of normal relations between the two German states, as well as between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin in the fields of economics, trade, culture, science, technology and sports.

These would be the first steps to overcoming the division of Germany. Further steps could follow until state unity is completely restored. That is the aim of the Socialist Unity Party in proposing a German confederation.

The German Democratic Republic is not afraid of revived West German militarism; however, it does not underestimate its evil nature nor its danger. The international relation of forces has clearly changed in favour of the camp of peace and socialism. Aggression by West German imperialism and militarism would end with their final and rapid destruction. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, however, is firmly convinced that peace can be maintained if the masses do their utmost in the struggle for peace. Therefore, and in the interests of our people and other peoples, the Socialist Unity Party stands for an active policy of the defence of peace, disarmament, easing of tension, and for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states.

On the basis of the progressive internationalist traditions of the German working class movement, and guided by proletarian internationalism and the principles of a socialist peace policy, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has worked out the principles for a new peaceful socialist German foreign policy. In so doing the Socialist Unity Party has benefited from the Soviet Union's rich experience in socialist foreign policy and in the struggle for peace.

Since its foundation the German Democratic Republic has stood firmly with the socialist camp. Fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union is a cornerstone of its foreign policy. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany

has learned a fundamental lesson from German history, i. e., that German-Soviet friendship is vital to peace and a happy future for the German nation. The sovereign German Democratic Republic is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, the defence community of the socialist states of Europe.

In the field of international relations the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has set itself the following tasks:

1. Together with the other socialist states, and with the peace-loving states and peoples, the German Democratic Republic will do everything possible to prevent a war and to create the conditions for completely eliminating war from the lives of the peoples.

2. The German Democratic Republic stands for the establishment of healthy international relations. It supports the aim of disbanding all military blocs, stopping the cold war and the propagation of enmity and hatred among the peoples and removing all foreign air, naval, missile and other military bases from the sovereign territory of other states.

3. The German Democratic Republic will render every justifiable contribution to general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

4. The German Democratic Republic will do everything to strengthen by all means the solidarity among all groups and organizations of the international working class movement who oppose the imperialist war policy.

5. The German Democratic Republic will support all forces, organizations and parties in their efforts to prevent a war.

6. The German Democratic Republic promotes the development of international cooperation in trade, sports, culture, science and technology.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will see to it that all parties and organizations of the National Front of Democratic Germany and all GDR state organs exercise vigilance against the aggressive forces and the disturbers of peace. There must be a timely exposure of the warmongers. All measures must be taken to guarantee security and peace for the German Democratic Republic and the entire socialist camp.

The aim of the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic is to contribute to the overcoming of West German militarism and its atomic war preparations, to thwart the revanchist policies and the efforts of the West German imperialists to gain supremacy in Europe in the guise of a so-called "European policy". GDR foreign policy is also directed against the West German imperialists' neo-colonialist policy.

As against the imperialist "European idea" the Socialist Unity Party advocates cooperation between all peoples and states on the basis of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and peaceful economic relations.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany stands for cooperation, on the basis of equality, between the German Democratic Republic and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling to strengthen their state independence and to gain their full economic independence. It supports the policy of neutrality of the young nation-states and gives them aid in solidarity. The Socialist Unity Party strives for peaceful and nor-

mal relations between the German Democratic Republic and all capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for equality and sovereignty. It supports the struggle of the forces in the capitalist countries who fight against aggressive West German militarism. It claims the right to admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations and collaboration in its specialized agencies on a basis of equality.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers socialist internationalism, firm friendship with the Soviet Union, the continuous strengthening of the community of socialist states, solidarity with the young nation-states, peaceful coexistence with states of different social systems, respect for and recognition of the peoples' right of self-determination, the sovereignty and equality of states, friendship among the peoples and respect for the culture and achievements of every other people as inviolable principles of the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic.

The German Democratic Republic struggles for general and complete disarmament and for the solution of all international problems at issue by peaceful means. It is ready to develop and strengthen normal and friendly relations with all states. GDR foreign policy embodies the good progressive traditions which have always been respected and fostered by the working class and other humanist forces among our people. The GDR's peace-loving and far-seeing foreign policy has considerably contributed to strengthening the international prestige of the German Democratic Republic and to the failure of the imperialist policy of isolating it.

The foreign policy of the West German state continues the dangerous practices of the German imperialists, militarists and fascists. Aggressivity and force, extortion and exploitation of other peoples, disregard for the equality and sovereignty of other states, national hatred, revanchism and neo-colonialism are the characteristic features of the short-sighted and adventurist foreign policy of West German imperialism. The ruling forces in West Germany are among the most vigorous opponents of a policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and international relaxation of tension. West Germany's foreign relations serve the attempts of the monopolies to win supremacy in capitalist Europe and, with neo-colonialist methods, to force the young Asian and African states into economic and political dependence.

The main line of the Bonn foreign policy is characterized by ruthless annexationist and revanchist claims and by irresponsible gambling with the risk of a nuclear war which would plunge the West German people into a national catastrophe.

Thus two lines of world policy emerge from the two German states and stand in opposition to each other: the struggle for peace and disarmament, peaceful coexistence and friendship among the peoples, and the imperialist policy of war preparations, threats of war, revanchism, the arms race and neo-colonialism.

The German Democratic Republic has shown itself to be an important factor for peace in Central Europe. It is a strong, reliable and lasting bulwark against the West German revanchists and militarists, these forces

of war and destruction. It made and makes an effective contribution to the defence of the socialist camp and to the change in the relation of forces in Europe in favour of peace and socialism. The existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic has created a completely new situation in Germany. It decisively changes the relation of forces in Germany in favour of the forces of peace and socialism. In all spheres of politics and social life the German Democratic Republic provides a national alternative to imperialism ruling in West Germany. Its historic mission is, through the extensive building of socialism in the first German workers' and farmers' state, to create the firm basis upon which the working class can take over leadership throughout Germany, the monopoly bourgeoisie can also be deprived of power in West Germany, and the national question solved in a spirit of peace and social progress.

## Part Two

# The Comprehensive Construction of Socialism

Following the victory of socialist relations of production the main content of the activities of the working class and all working people is the comprehensive construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic, which will conclude the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Great things have been achieved since the GDR was founded, since a start was made in creating the foundations of socialism. In tireless work the people have overcome the terrible consequences of the Hitler war. They have begun to build up a new life. They have overcome hunger and unemployment. They have opened up the way to knowledge and education for all. They have set up a model health service in the GDR which provides the people with every help possible under our conditions. The state devotes special care to women and mothers and the protection of the family. Children, as the rising generation, are assured of its entire love and care. All young citizens of the GDR have equal opportunities to acquire a solid vocational training and qualification. All responsible leading posts are open to them.

Our successes have altered earlier standards. Within a few years our industrial production will have reached the volume of production of the entire German Reich of 1937 — with the exception of some branches of the coal and steel industry — despite the fact that the GDR occupies less than a quarter of the territory of the former German Reich. But this standard is not enough for socialism. Aims are higher. The people's interests, the working people's needs are a powerful force. They do not allow us to stop at the present level. They demand socialism in its entirety and completion.

The comprehensive construction of socialism in the GDR means developing the national economy, rapidly increasing production and labour productivity on the basis of the highest standards of science and technology so as to provide the working people with a pleasant life and to satisfy their growing needs; it means implementing the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" to the fullest possible extent.

The comprehensive construction of socialism means developing and expanding the new socialist relationships between the working people. A high sense of responsibility, joy in work and loyalty to the interests of society are outstanding characteristics of people in a socialist society.

The comprehensive construction of socialism means making education and culture available to all, so as to enrich their existence and develop their personalities. This will also enable them to master the modern productive forces. They will be able to give society more and thus to create the conditions in which they can receive more from society and better satisfy their own personal interests.

The comprehensive construction of socialism means making the German Democratic Republic into a modern socialist state which will embody the new Germany in the eyes of the whole world — a new Germany whose peace policy, good reputation and power of attraction fill its citizens with pride.

The comprehensive construction of socialism in the GDR will be the work of the entire people because it is absolutely in their interests. The people have the power to achieve this great aim.

## **I. The Tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the Comprehensive Construction of Socialism in the Economic Field**

In the comprehensive construction of socialism in the economic field the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the basic economic law of socialism. It defines the task of socialist production, which is to develop and steadily perfect production on the basis of the most advanced science and technology and increased labour productivity, for the ever better satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people and the all-round development of people in socialist society.

After socialist relations of production have achieved final victory in the German Democratic Republic, social progress and the living standard depends upon how the party, the government, the working people, cooperative farmers and other working people make use of the basic economic law of socialism and the other economic laws, especially the law on the planned proportional development of the national economy, the law of the steady increase in labour productivity, the law of distribution according to achievements and the law of value. The correct use of the economic laws of socialism guarantees development of the productive forces and of socialist relations of production and the forming of new social relations.

The planned proportional development of the national economy calls for the conscious harmonious development of the various branches of the economy, their interrelations, their scales and the tempo of development. It calls for a correct relationship between accumulation and consumption, between labour productivity and average wages and for an optimum efficiency of social labour. The law on planned proportional development

of the national economy is the foundation of socialist planning. A steady increase in labour productivity and reduction in production costs calls for the consistent application of the most advanced scientific knowledge in production, and the complex socialist rationalization of the production process with the active cooperation of all working people.

The main resources are the working people's consciousness, socialist team work and improvements in management. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the fact that the complete coordination of social needs with the interests of individual workers and collective groups is the most important driving force in our social and economic development. While working for the good of society, people are also working for their own personal interests. This driving force is effective mainly through the law of distribution according to achievement. The principle of material interest is put into practice in accordance with the principle: "Everything which is useful to society must also be advantageous to the enterprise and the individual worker." The law on distribution according to achievement requires that wages correspond to achievement; it coordinates personal with social interests and thus inspires people to do better work. The law of value is the decisive instrument in finding out and checking on the amount of socially necessary labour. Its correct application is revealed in strict economy in the use of materials, labour and money and prevents losses in the national economy.

The central task of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the economic field is to shape the national economy, proceeding from the economic laws of socialism and in accordance with the special conditions of development in our country, on the basis of the highest standards of science and technology. This implies the fullest use of the GDR's own possibilities and the concentration on production of highly processed, qualitatively high-value products requiring a high degree of skilled labour but low production costs.

In building up its economy the GDR pays attention to the effects of the law of the planned proportional development within the framework of the countries and of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid of the entire world socialist system. The German Democratic Republic is becoming an ever firmer link in the chain of the world socialist economic system and an ever more active economic competitor of the imperialist world system. At the same time, the disproportions in our economy caused by the division of Germany are being gradually overcome.

This task fully corresponds to the interests of our people in a modern, well-balanced and efficient national economy.

There is no other way to solve this great and important problem except through the all-round encouragement of modern natural science and technology, through the consistent introduction of the most advanced knowledge into production practice. Modern science is increasingly developing into a direct productive force. Karl Marx stressed the tremendous importance of science when he pointed out that the productive force of labour is determined by the average skill of workers, the stage of

development of science and its technological applicability, the social combination of the production process, the extent and effectiveness of the means of production, and by natural conditions. (See Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* Vol. I, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p. 54.)

The GDR desires the closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in research and development, especially in the leading branches of the economy and in order of importance, so as to reach the highest scientific and technical standards and to help determine these standards as quickly as possible.

To shape the economy of the GDR a new and higher quality of leadership is needed in the national economy and in planning. Firm complex guidance in carrying out the great tasks which have a big influence on further developments in entire fields of the national economy is particularly important. The effectiveness in the national economy of work done will be the criterion of the quality of leadership in the national economy and planning.

### *1. The Basic Tasks in the National Economy*

The following industries are decisive in developing the GDR's economy:

- the chemical industry, especially petrol chemistry, because it is becoming an increasingly important branch of industry;
- the metallurgical industry in the second processing stage, because it delivers products which determine the speed at which technical progress can be made in the engineering and other branches of industry;
- electro-technology, especially electronics, and all branches of the engineering industry which determine the speed of mechanization and automation;
- the development of scientific apparatus construction;
- the rapid development of the power industry and transport;
- the further intensification and gradual industrialization of the agricultural production processes.

Concentration on these basic tasks will proceed in accord with the main directions of technical progress. This includes opening up new sources of power and the use of power reserves through developing new processes in transforming energy, through increasing the degree of effectiveness of power production, transport and use. It also includes the use of chemical products and the introduction of chemical processing methods in all branches of the national economy. It is especially important to apply the results of new knowledge in petrol chemistry. Of decisive importance are the full mechanization and partial automation of work processes and the use of modern computing and steering mechanisms and cybernetics. Full mechanization and automation calls for priority development of electronics, especially of microelectronics, which is the basis for measuring, steering and regulating techniques, for communications and new research methods in the most varied scientific fields. Finally, it includes the application of highly productive production

processes resulting from the most modern scientific knowledge (e. g., electro-technology, plastic design, powder metallurgy, etc.) which, combined with continuous production processes, provide the prerequisite for full mechanization and automation.

The development of the economy of the German Democratic Republic therefore requires the building and promotion of new leading branches of the national economy which assure rapid developments throughout the entire economy. This requires intensive, concentrated work in the field of research and development so as to reach the highest technical and scientific standards and to help determine these standards in the most important branches of the national economy.

The German Democratic Republic is a highly developed industrial state with large import requirements in raw materials, semi-finished and finished products. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany attaches considerable importance to economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the non-socialist countries. The production of high quality and technically high value goods to pay for imports is a vital necessity for the GDR. The profitability of foreign trade will be further increased.

The GDR's trade with the socialist countries will be developed more and more in a planned way on the basis of the coordination of their national economies.

The Socialist Unity Party is in favour of unrestricted world trade. It is interested in stabilizing and expanding economic and trade relations with all non-socialist countries, especially with the young nation-states, on a basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Industrial production will be about doubled between 1960 and 1970 as a result of the exploitation of the GDR's own resources and the further development of division of labour within the socialist camp. This increase will be achieved entirely as a result of scientific and technical progress, the raising of labour productivity and the expansion of productive capacity.

The power industry is of special importance in a further upsurge of the productive forces. The full supply of the entire economy with electric power is the basis for further technical progress, especially for mechanization and automation. It is therefore necessary to overcome the temporary deficit in electric power and to build reserve capacities. In the big new power stations the transformation of lignite into electric power with the highest efficiency is being undertaken.

The extraction of power-producers and raw materials such as lignite, rock salt, potash, chalk, anhydrite, which are available in sufficient quantities in the GDR will be speeded up. This is particularly true of lignite mining, which is at present and will remain in the near future the main source of primary energy. Potash mining will be reorganized and expanded so that it will be in a better position to meet the needs of the GDR and of other socialist countries for high quality potash.

The chemical industry, especially petrol chemistry, takes priority. The quality and quantity of its products determine to a very large extent the tempo of development, productivity and quality of production in other branches of industry and in agriculture. The chemical industry, especially the production of plastics and chemical fibres, offers an abundance of products which assist technical progress and increase the well-being of the people. The petrol chemical industry supplies many of these products at the lowest cost. The construction of the petrol chemical works in Schwedt and Leuna Works No. 2 should therefore have the support of the entire population. Modern chemical products must also be made use of in other branches of the national economy.

In view of the increasing importance of the petrol chemical industry, geological prospecting for mineral gas and mineral oil in the GDR (especially in the deeper geological strata) and the mining of these resources have become a priority task which will make it possible to supply the petrol chemical industry partly from home resources.

In the metallurgical industry it is important to reconstruct and expand the present works so that they will be able to produce a larger proportion of processed products. Refined and high quality steels, seamless and welded piping, cold-rolled products, like cold-rolled plates, band steel, smooth drawn steel wire and light profile steel will make up a larger proportion of total production than hitherto. The non-ferrous metal industry must cover the needs of the electro-technical industry in special substances, semi-conductors and electric conducting materials and in steel refiners.

Engineering, especially the machine tool industry, and electrical engineering will supply technically fine products of a high technical and scientific standard, the use of which will considerably increase labour productivity. Priority must be given to the production of equipment for the home chemical industry and of machines, implements and plant for mechanizing and automating the production process, including measuring and regulating technology. A very important priority task is the rapid development of electro-technology and electronics. The most important thing in electronics is to speed up the complex development of micro-modul techniques and molecular electronics. Scientific-technical progress in the national economy also calls for a rapid increase in the production of the following groups of products: electrical and electronic measuring and testing apparatus, electronic construction elements (especially semi-conductors and complex construction elements for micro-modul techniques), modern news transmission apparatus, automatic regulators and modern types of machine tools.

The glass and ceramics industry will develop at a faster rate than hitherto. Developments will be concentrated on products for technical use, for electro-technology and electronics in fields in which they can be used equally well or even better than steel, non-ferrous metals or valuable chemical substances.

Production in the textile, clothing, leather and furniture industries will be concentrated on highly processed items which will above all do justice to the increased demands of the population for high quality articles.

In the foodstuffs industry nutritional science will be better applied in the service of public health. Highly processed, good quality foods will be produced. The fishing industry will be expanded to cover home needs entirely.

The forces and resources in the building industry will be concentrated primarily on expanding and perfecting industrial building and underground workings. A radical standardization of building parts, production and assembly procedures and the application of compact building methods and assembly line methods will mainly serve this purpose. The big industrial building projects such as the Schwedt mineral oil processing plant, the Leuna Works No. 2, etc., will have priority. Rapid assembly line building methods will be introduced generally.

The transportation system will develop in accordance with the growth of the entire national economy. Diesel and electric train services will be introduced step by step. Heavy manual labour in loading and unloading is to be reduced through complex mechanization.

In the information services modernization and expansion of the ultra-short wave and television networks will be completed. The radio and television transmission networks and the transport radio service will be further expanded. The automation of local telephone services will be completed. The long-distance telephone network will be expanded, as well as automatic dialling. The letter and parcel post services will be further rationalized.

In order to increase industrial and agricultural production and to assure the water supply, the planned opening-up, use and maintenance of surface and ground water supplies, and government guidance of water conservancy in accordance with the increasing requirements in drinking and industrial water supply and for the prevention of flood and drought damage are extremely important. The natural wealth of the German Democratic Republic is to be exploited in a suitable way to increase industrial and agricultural production.

District-operated industry is faced with the task of making fuller use of new scientific and technical knowledge, introducing more productive processes, considerably increasing labour productivity, working machinery to full capacity in three shifts and introducing tested innovations in production.

In order to put an end to the splitting up of production which is a relic of capitalism the managements of the various branches of industry will unite the district-operated enterprises producing the same or related products in combines or other suitable forms, in accordance with the production principle. This will provide the conditions under which it will be possible to extend tested management principles used in centrally-operated industry to district-operated industry.

The task of local industry, communal institutions, crafts and trade — including individual craftsmen, private shopkeepers and owners of private businesses — is to improve supplies to the population, to help make life pleasanter and more comfortable. Included in this is an expansion of the repair and maintenance services. Productive forces in local industry will have to be further developed in order to solve these problems.

Comradely cooperation with the complementary semi-state enterprises, craft cooperatives and individual craftsmen, shopkeepers with or without commission contracts and private enterprises is a firm part of SED policy. The party continues to help them to take their place in socialist society and to use their talents for the benefit of the people. A narrow-minded attitude towards craftsmen, private shopkeepers and private owners has never been permitted and will in future not be permitted by the party.

The development of the GDR economy calls for the determined concentration of all forces and talents upon achieving scientific and technical progress and upon the application of modern scientific methods of factory and labour organization in every branch of the national economy.

The party pays attention to getting new perspectives opened up by science taken into account in good time and new branches of economy important for technical progress developed. Research and development are directed towards the most important economic tasks. State planning lays down these tasks exactly, sees that all forces are concentrated on them and checks on the way in which they are carried out. Research and development work on a definite problem corresponding to the needs of the economy is considered complete only when results have been introduced into production as a result of the joint work of scientists and practical workers. The decisive factor in concentration and rational work in research and development are the socialist work and research teams of scientists, engineers and innovators. This team work assures close and systematic cooperation between science and practice. The work of innovators should help in reaching the highest technical and scientific standards. That is why the innovators' movement is included in scientific-technical research and development work. Young people's interest in reaching the highest scientific and technical standards is to be encouraged by entrusting them with responsible jobs.

Technology, as the practical application of scientific knowledge in the production process, is becoming increasingly important. In broad fields of industry a revolution in technology is taking place in which conservative single and small serial production is being replaced by productive serial and assembly line methods on a grouping basis. This will contribute to reducing production costs, continuity in production, improvements in the quality of production and making work easier. The number of technologists among technical engineering personnel in the factories will be further increased. Precious experience as a technologist will be an

important condition in appointing technical engineering personnel to managerial posts.

In all branches of the national economy production will be organized in accordance with the principles of technical norms, types and standardization.

The party places great emphasis on further increasing the quality, durability and reliability of all industrial products, both of the means of production and of consumer goods. GDR products must assure a good name for German goods abroad. Highly qualified production by industrial workers requires less labour, saves raw materials, and also lengthens the life of products. Highly qualified work therefore saves resources, which is an advantage both to the national economy and to consumers.

Mastery and use of the most modern factory and labour organizational methods, including the use of new economic-mathematical computing techniques and the mechanical processing of data, are of decisive importance in organizing the production process rationally, obtaining the highest efficiency from social labour and making the best possible use of available machinery and plant. Special attention is therefore to be devoted to mathematical procedures in solving economic problems and to setting up a network of computing centres for the enterprises and national economic planning organs.

All working people will have to be systematically qualified for the job of developing the GDR economy on the basis of advanced science and technology. Educational institutions such as the people's colleges and enterprise and village academies provide working people with the technical and general knowledge they need in order to operate the modern, high capacity machinery used in mechanized and automated production processes or to work in the new branches of industry which are of decisive importance for technical progress.

## *2. The Further Development of Socialist Agriculture*

The socialist transformation of agriculture is a generally logical development in the socialist revolution and corresponds to the main content of our epoch. After the democratic land reform had been carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture ended the centuries of oppression and exploitation of the peasantry. It liberated the peasants from the shame and burden of subjection to Junkers, bankers and land speculators. It liberates the village from the cultural and social backwardness which was deliberately preserved by the exploiting class. It opens up the road to a cultured life and social progress for farmers, to education and science. Cooperative farmers, allied in friendship with the working class, occupy a respected position in our socialist society. Great tasks face them in the extensive construction of socialism, the fulfilment of which benefits the people and serves the interests of each and every cooperative farmer.

The extensive, complete construction of socialism in agriculture has the aim of providing a better supply of foodstuffs to the population and also raw materials from home production for our industry. Good cooperative work is needed here, in which the most useful experiences of farmers are combined with the use of the most advanced scientific knowledge.

In the course of joint work the socialist consciousness of men and women cooperative farmers develops and this becomes an active force in the consolidation of the cooperatives and the increase in agricultural production.

In developing and using new technical methods and introducing the most up-to-date principles of management and organization in the cooperatives and state farms, a process of further intensification and gradual transition to industrial production methods in agriculture takes place. The existence of three types of agricultural production cooperative (LPG) ensures the continuous development of the LPG along with increases in total and market production and a systematic expansion of cooperative property and income. Expansion of the bases of production in the LPG, and thus of members' prosperity, depends largely upon the use of a suitable part of the income to increase the cooperative fund, and especially for the purchase of an increasing amount of means of production.

During this process the material and cultural conditions of working people on the land will gradually approach those of town workers. The extensive construction of socialism in agriculture also corresponds to the personal interests of all the men and women working in the cooperatives.

The transition from Type I LPG to Type II and Type III will be effected gradually during the period of the extensive construction of socialism along with the use of the most advanced production methods, and when cooperative farmers themselves decide to make the change.

The state farms and most advanced Type III cooperatives have the task of applying advanced scientific and technical methods and achieving the highest standards in total and market production per acre and helping to determine these standards, by means of an increase in labour productivity.

In order to achieve this and at the same time to encourage a gradual approach to city standards the Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers that the following problems must be solved:

1. Inner-cooperative democracy must be achieved in all LPGs.

This is the most important condition necessary if all men and women cooperators are to develop their talents to the full. Special attention must be paid to women members and young people, since the consolidation of the LPG and the prosperity of its members depend very largely upon their cooperation in production and participation in management.

2. The management of farming and good coordination of all the work must be developed according to the principle of production.

3. Soil productivity must be increased and land must be farmed intensively.

This is the most important prerequisite for high yields in all types of field cultivation. Soil fertility must be systematically improved by deeper ploughing, increased fertilizing with lime and humus, amelioration measures and by producing more fodder plants rich in albumin. Harvest yields must be safeguarded through improved plant protection and storage. Highly nutritious crops from fields and meadows will provide cooperative and state farms with a stable fodder supply sufficient to feed the increasing amount of livestock and to provide adequate reserves.

4. Livestock farming must be developed into a highly productive branch of farming.

This calls for a planned increase in livestock and improvements through good care, feeding and systematic breeding. Labour productivity in animal husbandry will be further increased through improvements in the organization of work and through the gradual transition to industrial production methods.

5. Modern techniques must be worked out and applied in mechanizing and partially automating the production process in agriculture.

In further mechanizing agriculture the main measures will be further electrification and improvements in machinery and transport in accordance with the most up-to-date scientific and technical knowledge. In field cultivation the most important criteria are high speed in work, broader operating breadth of machines, coupling of implements and deeper ploughing. In stall, farmyard and care of fodder the most important tasks to bear in mind are mechanical preparation and distribution of fodder, the mechanized cleaning of stalls and milking. Drying capacity will be considerably expanded.

Industry must provide the means of fulfilling production tasks in farming on the basis of advanced science and technology. Increasing quantities of modern machinery and chemical products will be offered to agricultural enterprises.

6. Agricultural research must be developed.

Agricultural scientists assist in expert guidance of farming and help organize cooperative production. Research must be concentrated on the priority national economic tasks and on basic research connected with these tasks. Here the most important problems are increasing soil fertility in field cultivation, growing new varieties and developing sowing methods and techniques which guarantee high yields and a high degree of labour productivity; in live-stock farming attention should be concentrated on breeding hardy, high-yield stock, developing rational techniques and care of livestock, improving fodder crop farming and storing methods, and more effectively preventing animal diseases and epidemics. In developing farming technology the aim is the full mechanization and partial automation of the working process in field cultivation, livestock and fodder crop farming. Complete machine systems will be set up. The use of aircraft will be extended.

Agrarian economics analyses the way in which the economic laws operate in agriculture, applies the knowledge gained in the practice of

guiding and planning work in large-scale socialist agricultural enterprises and thus contributes to developing the productive forces and consolidating socialist relations of production.

7. Agricultural planning must be perfected.

Taking into account the natural and economic production conditions, planning must guarantee that all the economic possibilities of increasing total and market production are fully exploited in agriculture. Planning must be long-term, must take the economic laws of socialism into account, must guarantee the effectiveness of investments and full use of the means of production, and must be based on advanced science and technology.

The intensification and gradual industrialization of the agricultural production process is linked up with suitable concentration and the step-by-step specialization in agricultural production, which will ensure a steady increase in production and labour productivity. Here the initiative and experience of farm workers and cooperative farmers in the state farms and LPGs must be relied upon to the fullest extent in working out plans and putting them into practice.

The prices of farm produce and of the means of production, as well as tax and credit policy must provide a more effective material encouragement to an increase in production and to expanded reproduction in the cooperatives.

8. Socialist emulation must be further developed.

Competition between individuals, between teams and between enterprises with the aim of over-fulfilling production plans is based on the tasks in production and on pledges the fulfilment of which can be accurately checked. Socialist emulation calls for the correct application of the principle of material interest, i. e., payment according to work done. It helps to bring the personal interests of people working on the land ever better into line with the interests of society. The consistent observance of the principle of payment according to work done, linked up with production results, the quality of products and costs of production, is also an important means in agriculture of increasing production and labour productivity. Socialist emulation guarantees that all cooperative members take part in running their LPG, for good management by the LPG committee can best be done by means of socialist emulation which encourages the initiative of all members.

The extensive construction of socialism in agriculture calls for men and women farmers who possess considerable knowledge, especially in technical matters. The initial and further training of specialists in the various branches of farming is therefore one of the most important tasks.

Through polytechnical education, which will in future include a basic technical training, young people will be given the knowledge they need to do qualified work in agriculture. In the agricultural colleges and technical schools study will be combined with productive work and the entire course of training will aim at providing capable organizers of production who are at the same time managers of collectives and socialist agricultural enterprises.

As socialist conditions develop in the countryside the appearance of our villages is changing. They are developing into villages in which the cultural and social achievements of the towns are finding increasing access and producing a higher spiritual and cultural level among the villagers.

### *3. The Further Development in Directing the National Economy and in Planning*

In developing the GDR economy it is necessary to reach a new, higher level of management of the economy and of planning. The national economy and its various branches are guided in accordance with the production principle. The criterion for the work of leading economic organs is its economic effectiveness, the extent of its value to society. Ever-growing demands are placed upon these organs by the increasing scope of production, the increasingly important part played by science and technology and the increasing activity of the working people. The management of the economy and planning must be further developed, and the most up-to-date technical and organizational methods applied. The state economic plan must correspond to these high demands. It is the basis of joint work and assures uniformity for the good of all against enterprise and local egoism.

The basic task in planning consists in assuring a planned proportional development of the national economy, by consistently introducing scientific and technical progress in material production and at the same time developing the activity of the working people and directing their attention to this aim.

The increasing importance of modern natural science and technology in developing material production must be taken into account in long-term planning. Economic planning and balancing in its entirety will concentrate strictly upon modern technical methods. The complex planning method will be applied in priority development of the most important branches of the economy. A higher scientific standard of planning based on accurately worked out technical and economic figures will considerably increase the stability of plans. The central planned direction of the national economy must concentrate on working out the most important plan figures and seeing that these are adhered to, on coordinating planning and on seeing that scientific and technical knowledge and the best experience of innovators are applied generally. Through its state directives it guarantees the uniformity of the basic principles in introducing scientific and technical progress, in investments, in wage, price and finance policy and in the field of accounting and statistics.

In carrying out the new technology plans precisely special care must be taken to assure a steady increase in labour productivity. In order to achieve a more rapid advance in science and technology in the most important fields it is necessary to use a larger proportion of the national income for accumulation, for investments.

An effective means of increasing labour productivity and enlarging the national income is a better use of available productive funds.

Investments in the sphere of material production will be concentrated on the decisive sectors of the national economy and used to a greater extent than hitherto for modernizing existing production plant and equipment. Their effectiveness is to be increased and world scientific and technical standards must be aimed at. Investment projects must be thoroughly calculated and must be completed as quickly as possible. A strict check must be kept on the key figures used in calculating investments, to make sure that these are up to the most advanced technical and economic standards.

The task of shaping the GDR economy calls for the full development of the creative activities of the working people on the basis of uniform economic plans. The material and moral incentives to work are to be closely linked. They are to focus on the demand for high quality production resulting particularly from the introduction of new technical methods, from the use of valuable innovators' methods and from economies in the expenditure of human and mechanical labour. These incentives are to be extended in such a way that it is financially especially advantageous for workers to do creative work in developing new techniques or in applying scientific knowledge in practice. The offer of material and moral incentives should inspire enterprises, teams and individual workers to assume higher plan tasks, to make scientific and technical progress and to take over the best experiences in production quickly. Material and moral incentives to do good work are to be made fully effective through socialist emulation, which is to focus more strongly than hitherto on scientific and technical progress. The economically most effective wage systems are to be introduced for this purpose, also in regard to the salaries of managerial personnel. Key quality figures which are to be worked out as the criterion of work done will guarantee the correct use of the law on distribution according to work done.

The "new technology — new norms" principle is to be consistently carried out. Work norms based on technical processes and norms for the use of raw materials are to be consistently applied. These are very important in saving working time and material. They thus help to increase prosperity for all and for the individual.

The task of developing the economy of the GDR demands that leading economic organs make full and proper use of the law of value and with its help insist on strict adherence to the principle of economy. Strict economy in material production, in all other economic fields and in the government administration increases the prosperity of each and every citizen. Economy in production is essential for national wealth. Correct use of the law of value compels the factories to fully mobilize all their extensive internal resources. These include especially the full exploitation of available modern production installations, high-power machinery and automatic equipment which must under all circumstances be used in more than one shift. Correct use of the law of value demands that the directors

of the economy develop a greater sense of responsibility and discipline in their attitude to general national interests. This also makes it necessary to expand the responsibility of enterprises, so that they can fully develop their own initiative on the basis of their national plan figures.

The most important instrument in applying the law of value is economic accounting. This is oriented on reducing production costs, increasing profitability in the enterprises and making the best possible use of basic and current funds. The reduction of production costs and the profits achieved are increasingly to become the criterion in judging the achievements of the factories. Breakdowns of factory production plans and production costs, especially wage and raw material costs, are the basis for the conscious cooperation by the workers in the social control of costs.

Under the conditions of the extensive construction of socialism, the importance of the financial system in the planned shaping, distribution and redistribution of the total social product and the national income increases. In financing, organizing inter-enterprise financial settlements and controlling finances, the financial organs must proceed from the existing goods and money relationship between the enterprises and from the point of view of the full responsibility of enterprises for the sale of their products. This calls for new financial relations between enterprises, higher authorities and financial organs. The redistribution of financial resources by means of credit is to be expanded. The better application of economic laws also makes higher demands on the financial organs in balancing the national economy.

Scientific-technical progress is to be generously and farsightedly encouraged by the financial organs and they must use their influence to ensure that production is of high quality and corresponds to demand whereas costs are kept down and funds used to the best possible effect. The financial organs must effectively support the work of representative bodies, their standing commissions and working groups, the councils and social organizations, by means of expert analyses and suggestions. The financial control will thus increasingly become a public control.

The price system is to be so organized that the socially necessary expenditure of labour becomes the basis on which prices are fixed and state subsidies avoided as far as possible. In this way there will be a more effective deliberate application of the economic laws, especially the law of value, and the use of new technical methods will be encouraged.

The price system must be further developed in such a way that enterprises changing over to new technical methods enjoy financial advantages over those which continue to produce by the old methods.

A planned build-up of national material and financial reserves is extremely important in assuring the high efficiency of the entire national economy. The presence of such reserves makes the maximum fulfilment of the national economic plans possible and prevents exhausting strains and losses. This creates favourable conditions for making the work of society most effective.

The party expects good economic results from the work of leading managerial personnel, directors of the Associations of Nationally Owned Enterprises and works directors and thus places heavy demands upon them. These include good expert knowledge, the application of the principles of socialist economics and a constant struggle for progress in science and technology. Also included are a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, close links with the working class, love of people and the qualities of character necessary to form and lead a firm collective of working people.

The trade unions have a big responsibility for material production. They represent the interests of the workers, especially in regard to improving material and cultural conditions, and above all through their efforts to enlist the working people in the struggle constantly to increase labour productivity. For a steady increase in labour productivity is the decisive condition for improving living conditions. The trade unions inspire and encourage creative work by workers, office workers, engineers and technicians and direct their attention to the solution of the most important tasks in applying modern techniques. They champion good quality, German high quality. Through the enterprise trade union organizations they take part in working out and fulfilling plans and in directing the enterprises. They help to get workers' suggestions for improvements put into practice and give their full support to innovators. They explain to the workers how the economic laws must be exploited in their own interests. They convince them of the necessity of economizing in time, material and money in production.

The trade unions take a prominent part in building up among the working people a new, socialist attitude to work. They help to arouse a love for work which in itself encourages a new socialist work discipline. They take part in developing and improving labour safety, health protection and social facilities for the working people. Their tasks as schools of socialism are still bigger in the period of the extensive construction of socialism. They are becoming one of the most important factors in socialist democracy and have important social tasks to fulfil. By linking up closely with the masses in their work trade union officials will win the confidence and become the genuine trusted representatives of the working people.

Increasing importance attaches to the socialist youth organization, as the active helper and reserve force of the party, in solving the tasks facing us. The Free German Youth organization helps the party to educate young people to take a conscious and active part in the extensive construction of socialism, to be prepared to defend the socialist fatherland and to educate them in a spirit of socialist internationalism. It has a particularly big responsibility in training an all-round educated younger generation which works, learns and lives in a socialist way. The extensive construction of socialism requires from the socialist youth organization especially that it helps all young people to understand that the main task

is to concentrate all their strength and ability on acquiring more political, scientific and technical knowledge and to stand in the front ranks of the struggle to master and achieve the highest scientific and technical standards.

## **II. The Role of Science in the Comprehensive Construction of Socialism**

The comprehensive construction of socialism calls for planned encouragement and development of the sciences. In the second half of the 20th century natural science and technology play a greater part than ever before in the history of mankind. Their spheres of application are steadily expanding. Freed from the chains of capitalist monopoly domination science can develop freely in socialist society. It becomes increasingly an immediate productive force and permeates all technological processes. It is based on the principle of the unity of theory and practice and has a firm scientific foundation in dialectical materialism. It preserves and develops the progressive scientific heritage of the past and is closely connected with the work of the people. Its results serve the prosperity of the whole people. The superiority of socialism over capitalism in material production and in spiritual and cultural life will be to a great extent determined by the rapid, all-round development of science.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany attributes first rank importance to the struggle for scientific progress because science increases labour productivity, enriches the life of man, expands his knowledge and shapes his view of the world. The use and development of science in all economic, political and social spheres of life will gradually lead to the removal of the differences between mental and physical labour, between town and village life which were handed down to us by the old class society. Cooperation, especially between technology, the natural sciences and economy, and good organization of this cooperation, are becoming increasingly important in solving complex problems by means of modern science.

Research must be under unified guidance, so as to get rid of the splitting-up and isolated treatment of important research subjects. This applies especially to the complex treatment of technical, natural science and economic research. The party sets the task of developing basic research in the German Democratic Republic to such an extent as to gain a good start for the future technology and production. Within the framework of scientific technological cooperation between the member states of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, the German Democratic Republic will make her contribution to basic research in the socialist camp. Special attention will be paid to the leading branches of natural science, mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, which decisively influence the development of the productive forces. Cybernetics is to receive special encouragement. Among the most important subjects of

research and development is the development of more effective ways of using known processes of power production, the development of rational new processes of power production so as to increase the power resources of the German Democratic Republic, the development and production of new materials such as plastics with valuable physical-chemical properties, modern types of synthetic rubber, special materials, powder metals and ferrites and the development of the most rational processes of extracting precious and tracer metals, the development of highly alloyed steels, valuable glasses, industrial ceramics and super-refined materials, the development and use of the latest material and labour saving processes, light building, welding and adhesive technology, etc., the general increase in quality of all products through scientifically worked out production processes and improved scientific-technical standards of products.

Biological, bio-chemical and bio-physical research into the course, guidance and steering of the vital processes will provide a better theoretical basis for medicine and will be extremely useful for agriculture and other branches of the national economy.

Medical research will concentrate on investigating the causes, prevention and methods of combating the most prevalent illnesses, such as disturbances of the circulation, tumorous growths, infectious diseases, especially infections of the upper respiratory system, and metabolic disturbances.

The scientific conditions for planned prophylaxis and therapy are to be set up by means of exact investigations into environmental factors which encourage or give rise to disease.

Special attention is to be paid to the development of work and social hygiene, radiation hygiene and protection against radiation, and to sports medicine.

The further development of theoretical work in Marxist social science, of theories on the guidance and development of society, is of great importance in solving tasks connected with the extensive construction of socialism. It is a question of recognizing the natural laws of socialist construction in the many and various aspects of practical work and of generalizing them theoretically on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Intensified sociological researches will be carried out in the social sciences. The main task in economics, particularly in the political economy of socialism, is to investigate thoroughly the objective economic laws and how these work in practice and to apply this knowledge in managing the national economy and planning in such a way as to achieve the most favourable tempo in economic development and the greatest possible efficiency from social labour. Marxist-Leninist philosophers have the task of further developing dialectical and historical materialism, closely linking it with the social processes and phenomena of our socialist society and with the latest knowledge in the natural, technical and social sciences, and at the same time to further develop the militant struggle against the ideology of West German imperialists. The most important

task of historians in the German Democratic Republic is to intensify their research work on the history of the German working class movement and to prepare a comprehensive history of the German people based on historical materialism.

Especially close attention must be paid to encouraging work on the theory of socialist education and training, to the development of psychology, to work on the history of German literature.

In all spheres of scientific work comradesly, frank and principled discussions on all points at issue are the prerequisite for recognizing objective truth. That means that a dogmatic bias in dealing with theoretical questions must be avoided or resolutely overcome. Dogmatism encourages revisionism which, as a bearer of bourgeois ideology, remains a lasting danger under the conditions of the struggle between two social systems in Germany. The party combats both distortions so as to present a clear and consistent socialist ideology.

In order to increase the effectiveness of universities, colleges and the German Academy of Sciences in getting scientific technological progress introduced rapidly, further improvements in the organization, planning and financing of basic and applied research are necessary. The planning and financing of research work will be done in such a way as to guarantee the orientation on focal points and key questions of the national economy. Commissioned research will be more strongly developed. The latest scientific and technological knowledge and production experiences in foreign countries, particularly in the Soviet Union, are to be carefully studied. To increase the effectiveness of the sciences it is necessary to attain an essentially higher level of scientific documentation and information in all fields of science.

Capable young scientists will be increasingly employed in research so as to achieve a rapid upswing in scientific work. They will be given specific scientific-technological tasks which require independent creative work. Scientific personnel for research work will be chosen on the achievement principle. The most capable workers and engineers will be drawn into scientific work.

### **III. The Tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Increasing the Well-being of the People**

In the period of the all-round construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic the situation of the working class, cooperative farmers and other strata of the population will be further improved.

In the German Democratic Republic the people work for themselves, for their own benefit.

The results of their work flow back for their own use, for the use of society and into accumulation for the purpose of the further expansion of the national economy, which will in turn result in further improvements in living standards. No more can therefore be distributed than has been produced for personal and social consumption. Consumption will

grow in proportion to the way in which the working people increase consumption funds through their joint work. The principle of remuneration according to work done applies in this connection.

Living standards in the German Democratic Republic are determined not only by individual consumption but also by the fact that the working people are in power and enjoy many rights and great opportunities in all spheres as free citizens in a free socialist society.

Personal needs, which in the past were formed under strong capitalist influence, will increasingly take on their own socialist features as the all-round construction of socialism progresses. These include especially those social and cultural facilities and services that have been established for the benefit of the entire community and which make it easier for citizens, particularly women and mothers, to take part in production and social life.

### *1. The Development of Living Conditions*

By 1970 the national income of the German Democratic Republic will have increased in accordance with the long-term economic plan. Also in accordance with the long-term economic plan an increase will be achieved in real per capita income.

The difference between the lower and the higher income brackets will be gradually reduced, especially because qualification of an ever-increasing number of working people and growing mechanization of production will result in a reduction of the number of wage-earners in the lower wage groups compared with the total number of working people.

Supplies in accordance with the economic plans will be guaranteed through an increase in labour productivity.

Producers of industrial consumer goods are required to concentrate on useful, durable, modern and attractive goods. The production of consumer goods for joint use, for instance by tenant associations, residential areas, agricultural production cooperatives, etc., is to be particularly encouraged. The trade authorities will exercise a stronger influence on industry, so as to assure high quality goods. The shops and consumer goods enterprises share equal responsibility for the sale of goods. Considerable waste resulting from the production of unnecessary or poor quality goods must be stopped in future.

Repair and maintenance services for technical consumer goods are to be increased in accordance with the growing supply of such goods. In addition to the craftsmen's production cooperatives efficient, nationally-owned and communal service enterprises with modern equipment working on an industrial basis will be set up.

Retail trade will be modernized so as to guarantee satisfactory supplies. In accordance with its tasks retail trade is to be supplied with more shops, storehouses and cold-storage space. Goods transport is to be rationalized.

As a result of the drop in the birth-rate during the fascist war there will be a further labour shortage and an increase in the number of old-

age pensioners until 1970. That is, a decreasing number of working people will until that date have to provide for an increasing number of persons no longer or not yet able to work.

Under these circumstances planned working hours for production will have to be made full use of. A further reduction of working hours depends on an increase in labour productivity over and above planned targets and a reduction of the number of persons absent on account of illness.

The basic holidays for workers are to be increased. Trade unions and government authorities will help the working people still more to regain their strength during their holidays and to enjoy themselves with their families in the beauty spots of our own country and of the friendly socialist countries.

The use of new technical methods makes work healthier and easier. Under socialism the new technology helps to improve the life of the working people in every respect. Priority is to be given to easing heavy manual labour and work made more difficult by heat, dust, noise, dampness and dirt, particularly in mines, coking plants, steel works and in all fields where mainly women are employed.

The party exerts itself to provide all working people with adequate housing. The core of the housing problem in the next years is to overcome the housing shortage which we still face as an evil result of the criminal Hitler war. Housing will therefore be further encouraged in accordance with the economic plans. A large number of old buildings will also be modernized.

Towns and residential settlements built in connection with new industrial centres are to be designed from the point of view of modern town planning as rational complex units of enterprises, residential areas, social and cultural facilities, institutions for supplies and services and so on, which guarantee favourable conditions for work, social life and recreation. This applies increasingly to rural building and to the gradual renovation of older dwelling accommodation.

## *2. Further Improvements in Health and Social Services*

Under socialism society is directly interested in the all-round development of every citizen. Care for the health, for the harmonious mental, moral and physical development of each citizen therefore becomes the concern of all. The party will continue to devote much attention to meaningful spare-time activities, particularly to school and popular sport. Sport is a recognized social activity which encourages such outstanding qualities as courage and versatility, skill, determination and persistence, energy and endurance, and conscious action for the good of the community, and is absolutely necessary for good health.

Care for the people's health is of the greatest importance for the well-being and life expectation of the citizens. Care for health, for good working and living conditions is one of the primary and profoundly human tasks of the workers' and farmers' state. The main task of the public

health service is to bring the practical results of public health care up to the standard possible as a result of the international level of scientific knowledge. Greater attention than hitherto is to be paid to prophylactic health measures, labour safety and factory hygiene. By means of a systematic build-up of expert care in outpatient clinics and a steady improvement in the quality of work in the clinical and scientific institutions, every citizen is to be assured the best possible medical care.

The additional strain on working women is to be reduced step by step. Women's claim to creative work and participation in social life will be brought ever better into accord with their position as housewives and mothers. Maternity leave will be increased. The network of communal and other facilities and measures which relieve women of some of their housework will be extended.

All the love and care of society is focused on the children. The steadily improving and extending care for them in crèches, kindergartens and schools will also make things easier for mothers and at the same time gradually ease the difficult material situation which still exists in some families with many children. The number of places in crèches and kindergartens will be further increased. At the same time, however, existing facilities for children must be made use of more rationally and fully.

Facilities for the care of old people and more homes for the aged, where old people, who no longer work can be looked after, make old age happier and easier for them. The health and social problems of those who are no longer able to work and whose number in proportion to the total number of citizens is still growing deserve constant, close attention. More accommodation for old people should also be found by taking over existing buildings.

It is one of the important duties of the local authorities to look after old-age pensioners who are no longer able to work full-time but, after a long life of work, ask to be employed in some way or other during the last years of their life. In accordance with their wishes work is to be provided for them which enables them to make themselves useful, satisfies them and increases their income.

#### **IV. The Tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Developing the German Workers' and Farmers' State**

It is the task of the socialist state consciously to guide the extensive building of socialism according to plan, steadily to develop the forces of production and the socialist relations of production, improve material and cultural living conditions, encourage the creative initiative of the working people, strengthen their socialist consciousness and protect the socialist system against hostile machinations.

The most important task of the socialist state is its economic-organizational and cultural-educational function, the direction of the economy, science and culture. The workers' and farmers' state serves the people's welfare. It safeguards their freedom and peaceful life and protects their

socialist achievement. It guarantees all citizens — regardless of person, origin and world outlook — suitable work, freedom from all exploitation and subjection, justice and the inalienable right to take part in work, planning and government.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany deems it necessary for the government organs to concentrate their strength and attention on solving the economic, technical and cultural tasks as laid down in the national economic plan. The development of socialist democracy on the broadest basis also serves this aim. Expert scientific direction of economic and social developments calls for the inclusion of all strata of the population in working out and putting into practice the national economic plans, state laws and decisions and in checking on their execution. New forms of involving the people develop logically to correspond with steady improvements in management on the production principle and the closer coordination of science, production experiences and management. The direction and planning of the national economy by the socialist state calls for the most modern structure and methods of work and the application of the most advanced scientific and technological methods.

In accordance with the natural laws of the development of socialism democratic centralism will be further perfected. This assures the correct linking up of unified central guidance with a maximum of initiative and responsibility of the local authorities and the development of the creative activities of the masses.

Voluntary help in solving the tasks of the state power is gaining ever-increasing importance. In the course of developments an ever-growing number of citizens will participate in solving national tasks and thus in carrying out state policies. The inclusion of women and young people in directing the state and economy deserves special attention.

The state organs must cooperate closely with the organizations of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions and with the National Front and the social organizations united in it. The committees of the National Front are becoming increasingly important in enlisting all citizens to help solve the tasks involved in the all-round construction of socialism and in developing voluntary activities. Some government tasks will gradually become the responsibility of the social organizations.

Workers' and farmers' control is an important instrument for ensuring that laws and decisions are carried out by all branches of the state and managerial apparatus. Control plays an important part in improving guidance by the government and managerial authorities and improving their alliance with the working people, in educating personnel to observe the laws of socialism strictly and to pay close attention to the suggestions of working people. It helps to combat and sweep away bureaucracy, over-optimistic reporting, the falsifying of reports, the waste of the people's property, the abuse of public office and other habits surviving from the capitalist era which are incompatible with socialist development. Workers' and farmers' control is therefore being developed on a broader

social basis. State and social control will eventually be a unified system of inspection, into which ever-broader circles of citizens will be drawn.

It is increasingly becoming a matter of course for our citizens to avail themselves of the fundamental right to take part in developing the political and national, economic and cultural life of the German Democratic Republic. The right to work is developing more and more into responsible cooperation in drafting, fulfilling and over-fulfilling the economic plans. The working people are increasingly availing themselves of their right to an education. The unfolding of the rights of the citizens is bound up with strengthening voluntary discipline of the socialist community of free people, enjoying equality, conscious of their personal value, upright, and mastering life. Our state, which exercises justice to everybody and — for the first time in German history — respects and safeguards its citizens' freedom, equality and human rights, is the constitutional German state.

The socialist state power promotes the teaching and acceptance of a scientific materialist world view. It adheres to the principle of the separation of state and church. It guarantees the practice of religion within the framework of the churches and religious communities.

### *1. The Further Development of Socialist Democracy*

It is a special feature of our state that it firmly relies on the tested cooperation of the democratic parties, social organizations and forces united in the National Front of Democratic Germany. Under the leadership of the party of the working class the extensive building of socialism will also be carried out through the joint efforts of the parties and social organizations.

The all-round construction of socialism makes greater demands on the responsibility of the people's representative bodies and their councils, these most important organs of socialist democracy.

The people's representative bodies — relying on the confidence of all the people who elected them — from the People's Chamber right down to the local representative bodies and their organs — form the uniform system of state power in the German Democratic Republic. Under the leadership of the working class all political forces in society unite in the people's representative bodies, on the basis of the National Front, in the struggle to achieve the extensive construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

Improvement in the work of the people's representative bodies helps to draw the broadest circles into guiding the state. Here such questions are involved as the structure of the electoral system, replacing at least one-third of all representatives at each election, thorough popular discussion of all basic problems of socialist construction and national policies, important bills and decisions. Other questions involved are the extension of popular control and of the number of government officials to be elected and their obligation to report back on their work, and many other forms of cooperation by citizens in fulfilling state tasks, such as serving on

honorary commissions, women's committees, parents' councils, permanent production councils, disputes commissions and so on.

The People's Chamber, the highest organ of power of the German Democratic Republic, carries out, especially through the Council of State, the tasks of the leading state organ in the all-round construction of socialism, in the planned conscious forming of social relations and the struggle to safeguard peace and solve the national problem.

On the basis of laws and decisions adopted by the People's Chamber, the Council of State ensures the uniformity of state leadership. It develops the principles of socialist state leadership activity and the closest contact between people and their state power, the inclusion of citizens and social organizations in state and economic leadership.

The Council of Ministers is the executive organ of the People's Chamber and the Council of State. It is responsible for carrying out policy on the basis of the laws passed by the People's Chamber and the decrees of the Council of State. In further developing its work it is important that the quality of economic planning be improved, that the tasks laid down in the national economic plan be carried out with the greatest efficiency and that systematic coordination and operative guidance of its organs and of the local councils be ensured.

The local people's representative bodies and their councils ever better unite in their work the making, enforcing and checking on decisions. They make independent decisions and solve all problems within their sphere of responsibility. They are in particular responsible for maximum agricultural production with the most modern methods. They are responsible for supplies meeting demand, the development of communal industry and services, education and culture, health and social services. The education of socialist people, the developing of the many and various forms of qualifying and training the working people, is of particular importance in their work.

Our social developments make ever-increasing demands on the ability of representatives and state officials to make people conscious of social connections and to develop their creative initiative.

## *2. The Socialist Legal System*

The socialist legal system serves the people and their peaceful life. It serves their freedom, their peaceful work and justice for all. Our socialist law expresses the will of the working people under the leadership of the working class. It originates from the objective laws of social development and aims at putting them into practice. Our law, the main content of which is based upon social developments and basic rules of socialist living together, is the expression of and at the same time furthers the planned development of the forces of production, socialist relations of production and education of the people in the spirit of socialism, and protects our system against attacks by its enemies.

The victory of socialist relations of production in the GDR makes it possible and requires that socialist law be fully effective. With its help

the objective laws of socialism and the knowledge of natural science and technology will be realized.

As the feelings, thoughts and actions of the people are increasingly determined by socialism, voluntary adherence to the socialist laws of living together will develop into a generally practised habit. Persuasion and education will increasingly become the principal methods of socialist society's efforts to have its laws strictly maintained and to prevent and combat crimes and violations of the law.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany therefore sets the task of perfecting and supplementing the socialist legal norms which regulate the way in which people live together. Priority should be given to perfecting the legal norms which regulate the economic-organizational and cultural-educational activities of the state and economic authorities and the relations between them and the free and unhindered development of the forces, talents and capabilities of the people. New codes of civil, criminal and family law are to be worked out.

With the growing role of socialist law in the period of the all-round construction of socialism, increasing importance also attaches to establishing firmer guarantees that laws are correctly applied and the rights of citizens and socialist legality observed. This is the aim in setting up a uniform direction of the administration of justice in all courts by the Supreme Court and in more effectively assuring the independence of judges.

The rights and duties of public prosecutors in strict control of the observance of uniform socialist legality will be expanded. Contacts between the legal organs and everyday life and the tasks of socialist construction will be strengthened. The unity between the administration of justice and the people will be further solidified.

The solution of the tasks arising out of the comprehensive construction of socialism is the basis for a systematic struggle to eliminate criminality step by step from society. As a result of overcoming capitalist conditions of exploitation, the socio-economic roots of crime have in the main been eliminated in the GDR. The transition from capitalism to socialism takes place, however, in the midst of many contradictions and in a struggle against extremely persistent capitalist habits of living and thinking which are continually nourished by enemy influences from without. This is reflected in the incidence of crime. In order to make the norms of socialist law the firm basis of people's actions, detailed attention and active encouragement must be given to this complicated process of the transformation of society in which people shake off old habits and ideas. As our society grows in strength, all the prerequisites will be present for bringing this struggle against crime and violations of law to a successful conclusion with extensive help from the public. In this connection it is especially important to develop crime prevention by revealing and removing the causes of crime and breaches of the law and the conditions which encourage it.

Thorough investigations into the conditions under which crimes were committed and of the personality of criminals, the precise observance of the legal situation and of trial regulations, are the basis for correct court procedure. Ever more recourse is being had in dealing with lawbreakers to kinds of punishment which do not involve imprisonment but education by society to respect the law. The workers' and farmers' state uses socialist law as a sharp weapon, however, against persons who commit hostile acts against the GDR in the service of imperialist agencies or NATO or who place themselves outside the law by other serious crimes.

### *3. The Protection of Socialist Achievements and the Tasks of the Armed Forces*

It is the task of the workers' and farmers' power to guarantee reliable protection of the freedom of our citizens and their democratic and socialist achievements and to safeguard the extensive construction of socialism against all hostile attacks. Imperialist atomic armament, the existence of West Germany as a dangerous hot-bed of war and the imperialist provocations on our state frontiers force us to be prepared at all times to protect our socialist homeland by armed force and to nip all imperialist plots in the bud. All citizens must show great vigilance so that, together with the armed forces, the organs of the Ministry of State Security and the workers' militia, they can continue to defend socialist construction, freedom and the lives and property of citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

In alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the National People's Army is making an important contribution to the consolidation of the defensive force of the socialist camp. So long as the imperialist forces continue the arms race, oppose the ban on nuclear weapons, the dissolution of their aggressive military blocs and general disarmament, the military superiority of the socialist camp is indispensable if peace is to be maintained and socialist construction protected.

The protection of the socialist German homeland and service in the National People's Army are an honourable national obligation of every citizen of the German Democratic Republic. The National People's Army is the army of the working people. Its firm foundation is its close contact with the working class and farmers and all other working people, and with the socialist system.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany encourages its members and all GDR citizens to be prepared for defence, to love the army of the first German workers' and farmers' state and to be closely bound up with it. The party will continue to pay close attention to developing the Society for Sport and Technology.

The most important source of strength for our army is the fact that it is guided by the party of the working class. The party exerts its influence on all members of the armed forces to become class-conscious socialist fighters who, in the spirit of close comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet

Army and the armies of the socialist camp, are prepared to give their strength and their lives to protect the people and their socialist homeland.

The German working people, under the leadership of the working class, have taken an historic action in founding the workers' and farmers' state on German soil. For the first time there exists a state in Germany where every honest citizen occupies a respected position, participates in making decisions and bears a responsibility for the whole. Leadership by the working class, the further extension of working class alliance with all working strata and the unfolding of socialist democracy guarantee that in the process of the all-round construction of socialism and the later transition to communism, the workers' and farmers' state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will gradually develop into a people's state embodying the all-round political and moral unity of the entire people.

## **V. The Tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Ideology, Education, Training and Culture**

The socialist revolution in ideology and culture, which conforms to the law of social development in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, will be continued in the period of the all-round socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic. The basic and main ideological and organizational task of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is to advance still further the socialist consciousness of all working people and to attain a high level of education and culture in conformity with the requirements of a socialist society. This is an essential prerequisite for the rapid development of the productive forces, an increase in labour productivity, and for the further social progress in all spheres. The comprehensive construction of socialism is brought about by conscious socialist thinking and action on the part of millions of working people. The socialist consciousness of the working people is the foundation of their creative work.

Further progress in the socialist consciousness of the working people is brought about under the leadership of the party of the working class during the struggle for the all-round economic, political and cultural construction of socialism. This progress is mainly the result of people's work and their social activity. The new socialist community grows in the process of work and through the working people's active and more qualified participation in running the affairs of the state, the economy and culture. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany consciously shapes this new socialist community by acquainting the working people with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by creatively applying and developing these teachings, by encouraging the spread of scientific and political knowledge, and by more effective education and culture. By encouraging frank criticism the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will increasingly combat the vestiges of the capitalist past in the working people's thinking and habits — backward conceptions, signs of individualism, egoism and superstition.

The party constantly advocates socialist ideology as opposed to the reactionary bourgeois ideology of the imperialists and the right-wing social democratic leaders. In shaping the new life and in establishing a socialist society the party proves the correctness of socialist ideology.

In the course of the comprehensive construction of socialism, the working people of the German Democratic Republic are changing not only their material and cultural living conditions, they are also changing themselves and their outlook. The shaping of the new man in socialist society with his moral characteristics, with his better general knowledge, with his high professional skill and with his liberated creative forces, will be a distinct step forward in the history of the German people.

What will man be like in socialism? In socialist society man will be guided by the principles of socialist ethics and morals:

1. You shall always promote the international solidarity of the working class and of all working people and uphold the unbreakable bonds existing between all socialist countries.

2. You shall love your mother country and always be ready to exert all your strength and ability to defend the workers' and farmers' power.

3. You shall help to eliminate the exploitation of man by man.

4. You shall do good deeds for socialism, for socialism provides a better life for all working people.

5. In the construction of socialism you shall act in the spirit of mutual assistance and comradely cooperation, respect the collective and take its criticism to heart.

6. You shall protect and increase the people's property.

7. You shall always strive to improve your work, be thrifty, and strengthen socialist work discipline.

8. You shall bring up your children in the spirit of peace and socialism, to become persons with an all-round education, strong characters, and physically fit.

9. You shall live a clean and decent life and respect your family.

10. You shall act in solidarity with the peoples struggling for their national liberation or defending their national independence.

In socialist society people will have high moral qualities which will determine the new morality both of the individual and of society. Man will strive to acquire knowledge, be a person with all-round general knowledge consciously shaping life and participating creatively in the development of socialist democracy. The dignity of man and justice are to him principles of the new life. Socialist morality is to him the realization of all those truly human and ethical norms for which the masses of the people in Germany and in all other countries have waged a long and bitter struggle of emancipation from feudal and capitalist oppression. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which bases its entire policy on love for the people and working men and women, in confidence in the strength and the creative faculties of the masses of the people, will do everything to make the ideal man of socialism a reality. In its ideological work the party will concentrate on the following tasks:

### 1. To strengthen socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Socialist national consciousness, love for the German Democratic Republic and pride in the achievements of socialism, arise from a thorough knowledge of the historic role of the first workers' and farmers' state in Germany and from an unshakable belief in the victory of socialism and peace throughout Germany.

These are inseparably linked with the ideology of friendship among the peoples. The basis of socialist internationalism consists in understanding that the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale accords with the laws of history, that the Soviet Union plays the leading role on the road to communism and the maintenance of peace, that the socialist world system is becoming stronger, and that the movements for national liberation and democracy are an historic necessity.

### 2. Socialist attitude to work and to social property.

The most important characteristic of man in socialist society is his new attitude to work. Labour freed from capitalist exploitation will become labour for the benefit of the entire people, it will be the most important medium for a general and harmonious education and upbringing of the rising generation. Everyone desirous of improving his own life and that of the entire people must contribute to the all-round socialist construction by working honestly and conscientiously. Socialist team work in its various forms is becoming increasingly important. The socialist community increasingly influences the individual and the development of his morale; the community spirit is increasingly pushing back individualism and egoism. The ever more comprehensive application of science and technology is changing the nature of socialist labour. The germs of a communist attitude are growing and ripening in the activities of the socialist work teams and groups which are revolutionizing consciousness, that work for the benefit of society is a primary vital need of man and that all work, both physical and mental, is respectable and honourable. The state's cultural and educational measures will systematically encourage this process of development and overcome the essential differences between physical and mental work.

Socialist work will establish new relations between people. These new relations both in and outside the sphere of production, the socialist way of life, are more human and nobler than the way of life of any previous society; they are the foundation of the ethical and moral standards in the German Democratic Republic. In the main, they express the inseparable link between social and personal interests. Everyone has his place in the community which in its turn helps the individual to develop his personality; that is the essence of our socialist community.

### 3. The dissemination of the scientific world outlook.

Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the general laws of development of nature, society and human thinking; it is a scientific world outlook, it is a compact and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, social and political conceptions. It leads the masses of the people to consciousness of

their own strength and shows them the historical laws and the perspectives of social development. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany sees to it that the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are disseminated and are widely studied; at the same time it encourages a close connection between theory and practice, for the creative application of these teachings in the all-round construction of socialism. It advocates the dissemination of knowledge in the natural sciences and technology; it propagates the ideas of philosophic materialism, it propagates a scientifically grounded atheist world outlook while fully respecting the religious feelings of believers.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to uphold the progressive, democratic and revolutionary traditions of the German people and the German labour movement, to preserve the classical humanitarian heritage of the past, and to defend socialist humanism against imperialist ideology which is hostile to humanity. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany sees to it that all people, especially the working people, have access to the humanist heritage of the great art of the past. For the works by past and contemporary great creative geniuses reflect man's progressive ideals. The more people in socialist society take part in cultural life, engage in cultural activities themselves and study the cultural heritage of the past, the more will the socialist world outlook govern their feelings and their imagination and influence their customs and habits.

#### 4. Unmasking reactionary bourgeois ideology.

Man in socialist society will develop in the conflict with the ideological after-effects of the capitalist past and with the influence of hostile ideologies carried into the German Democratic Republic mainly from West Germany. The smashing of imperialist ideologies is a decisive part of the historic tasks of the German working class and its vanguard in the German Democratic Republic.

In the conflict with the ideas prevailing in the capitalist West German state stress must be laid on combating anti-communism as the basic folly of our epoch and on countering the criminal ideology of atomic war preparations.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany combats the anti-socialist ideology of those right-wing social democratic leaders who collaborate closely with the West German imperialists and militarists. The party exposes modern revisionism and reformism which falsify the history of the German labour movement and aim at preventing the working class from struggling consistently against capitalist monopoly rule and from fulfilling its historic tasks.

In its ideological and organizational work in developing socialist consciousness the party lays great stress on the further improvement in the work of the press, the publishing houses, radio and television, theatres and films, libraries and all educational institutions of the party and mass organizations.

## *1. Further Development of Socialist Education*

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany strives to develop our people into an educated nation. Comprehensive socialist construction means all-round education and training of people with highly developed intellectual, moral and physical faculties who consciously shape society and change nature.

The growing significance of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, cybernetics, automation, electro-technology and other branches of science and technology in expanding the productive forces of society requires that scientific knowledge becomes the general knowledge of the people.

This task can be accomplished only through further improvements in the educational standard and on the basis of a uniform coordinated system of education from kindergarten and school, vocational training and adult education, to universities, colleges and technical schools. This uniform system of socialist education and training must be based upon the scientific, technical and economic aims of the all-round socialist construction. It is imbued with the ideas of socialism, peace, and humanity; it gives every citizen the opportunity to acquire extensive knowledge and to do his share in bringing about scientific and technical progress, in increasing labour productivity, and in enriching intellectual and cultural life.

The comprehensive construction of socialism places higher demands especially on the schools. They must educate young people to love the German Democratic Republic, to develop their socialist national consciousness and to bring them up to be conscious builders of socialism in a spirit of socialist morality and proletarian internationalism, and to firm friendship with the Soviet Union. The nucleus of socialist education is to imbue the rising generation with a love of work, respect for every kind of labour and working people. The schools must convey a basic knowledge of socialist economy. Socialist education and upbringing must prepare the younger generation to do physical and mental work and to take an active part in social life.

The education and training of the growing generation will be more closely linked with life, especially with socially useful work, to make it easier for our young people to master science and technology. Education for work will be connected with the creation of real and necessary values for society. For this reason craft instruction in school workshops and school gardens and polytechnical instruction in factories and on farms will be systematically arranged. In conjunction with factories and agricultural production cooperatives the polytechnical secondary schools will provide a systematic basic training for several related vocations according to the latest technical methods. On leaving school the youngsters will thus be able to complete their apprenticeship training while working in the factories or on the land. Pupils in the extended secondary schools will, as a rule, complete their vocational training at the same time as they take their school-leaving examinations. In order to prepare pupils better for particular trades and professions, classes or schools with differentiated instruction

(special secondary schools) will be established in certain focal points of our economy.

The connection between instruction and work will improve the pupils' knowledge if instruction is really scientific and constantly improves in quality. The schools must convey sound knowledge to the rising generation to develop the pupils' powers of thinking and understanding and arouse in them a thirst for knowledge and a spirit of inquiry.

Special attention must be given to improving teaching in mathematics and the natural sciences, a complete mastery of our mother tongue and instruction in foreign languages; the children should in particular be trained to make active use of the Russian language. Primary classes which convey the rudiments of education must provide a solid basis for education in the upper grades. All talents should be early encouraged for the benefit of socialist society. Improvements in the scientific level of instruction require fundamental changes and constant improvements in teaching methods. If school and daily life are to be properly linked, dogmatism and schematism in training and education will have to be abandoned.

Pupils must have opportunities for all-round development and for many-sided activities whether in work groups or other forms of after-school activity such as exhibitions of work they have done themselves, school competitions in various subjects, essays written over a period of one year on any subject freely chosen, study festivals and so on. This will arouse the pupils' eagerness to learn and to discover things for themselves, to enjoy reading, the arts and sports. Young people's physical endurance is to be increased by regular sports activities. The Free German Youth organization and the "Ernst Thälmann" Pioneer Organization will help to develop initiative and activity in pupils' groups and encourage them to acquire the rudiments of scientific knowledge. Both at school and after school systematic efforts will be made to encourage the children's many interests and their aesthetic and art education.

All instruction, especially civics, history and German instruction, play their part in political and ideological education. The Free German Youth and the Pioneer Organization actively influence the young people's moral, political and ideological education. Schools, enterprises, the Free German Youth organization, the "Ernst Thälmann" Pioneer Organization and parents all cooperate in educating the rising generation to follow the example of the best citizens and patriots of the nation and to do good deeds for the cause of socialism.

Teachers and educators are the best helpers of the working people in bringing up the younger generation as socialists; that is why they deserve the love, respect and support of the entire people. The system of socialist education requires politically sound, scientifically and pedagogically well-trained teachers who are closely linked with the people and who educate young people with wisdom, love and understanding. Every educator must continue his own education, and every school should be a place where teachers, too, can continue to learn. At teacher training colleges students

are to be encouraged to follow the example of the best teachers and themselves to devise new and better teaching methods.

The all-round socialist construction, particularly the growing importance of science in improving the economy of the German Democratic Republic, makes it urgently necessary for every boy and girl to have an opportunity to attend a polytechnical secondary school; this will further consolidate the foundation upon which our people can become a truly educated socialist nation. The development of our socialist schools is the affair of all the people.

Socialist education begins in the pre-school age, and all social forces should encourage the socialist education of young people. All-day instruction and education will thus gradually be developed further. That is one of the decisive prerequisites, in accordance with our economic possibilities, of carrying out step by step the further construction of day schools and implementing all-day education.

The level of vocational training must correspond to the requirements of modern production and scientific and technical progress. It must start where polytechnical and pre-vocational training in the schools left off, and aim at high standards of skill. A high level of training and technical knowledge on the part of the workers are important prerequisites for constant technical progress.

People's colleges, enterprise and village academies and libraries must help the working people improve their general knowledge and their vocational and professional qualifications on the basis of the highest level of science and technology. More and more working people will pass examinations in some or all subjects of the extended secondary schools after taking adult qualification or evening school courses. Women in particular must be given special help to improve their qualifications so that they can acquire higher scientific and technical knowledge and take over more and more responsible posts in the economy and state.

The increasing significance of science as a productive force for social progress and the tasks of developing the economy and culture in the German Democratic Republic necessitate changes in the system of study in colleges and technical schools. Training, teaching and research, especially in the natural sciences and technical fields will be revised so that colleges increasingly produce an organic unity of scientific training and practice in production. Students will receive theoretical training and engage in scientific productive work while at college or technical school. These principles also apply to the social sciences and especially to teacher training. Basic training in all branches of study must be conducted on the highest scientific level, while specialized training should, depending on possibilities, be closely linked with practical work in each branch. The dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge, especially in the natural science and economics fields, is necessary in order to assure that professional training is closely linked with practical life and with the requirements of the national economy. In the natural science and technical branches students should be trained mainly for their future work in

production. Engineering colleges will link basic theoretical study closely with practical production problems, especially with questions of technology. Engineers will receive thorough training in computer technology. Future scientists must have detailed knowledge of socialist practice; they must be given research tasks and be trained to be self-reliant and creative in their work.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is in favour of encouraging all talented young scientists and giving them an opportunity to prove their worth, especially in new branches of science. Marxist-Leninist studies at universities and colleges will encourage creative scientific work and will help to prepare students for their future activity by directing their special attention to the problems of the economic, political, intellectual and cultural struggle for the comprehensive building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

## *2. Socialist National Culture as the Fulfilment of the Humanist Culture of the German People*

In the period of all-round socialist construction the Socialist Unity Party of Germany further develops the new socialist content and the corresponding forms of the national culture in order to fulfil the basic tasks of culture — to shape the intellect of man in socialist society and to develop a socialist national culture. Forming a socialist national culture will bring our nation up to the highest level of cultural development so far attained. Socialist national culture is the culture of true humanism, a true culture of the people and thus represents a new historic quality.

Socialist national culture further encourages as a law-governed process everything great, humanist and progressive in our people's culture of the past, and unites this with the cultural traditions of the more than one hundred-year-long revolutionary struggle of the German working class. The socialist German national culture develops as a part of the culture of the world socialist system, which determines the main lines of development of human culture in our epoch. It puts into practice the loftiest ideals on education and culture which humanist philosophers of all times have had, for it aims at bringing about a harmonious unity of intellectual and physical work and at overcoming the cultural differences between town and country. The people themselves are more and more shaping their way of life and are developing culture with all their creative talents. The artistic activity of working people in town and country is the determining element in our culture. Permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism, the people are establishing ever closer relations with the culture of the Soviet peoples and of all socialist lands and at the same time are eager to learn about the cultural achievements of all peoples.

The knowledge and the sentiments expressed in works of art serve the moral change of people in the spirit of socialism. They inspire people to do great things in the cause of socialism, arouse in them the love of work, enrich their intellectual life, train the rational emotional capabil-

ities of people in the socialist community and educate them to a genuine joy in living. Thus art helps to inspire people to do pioneer work in production and to make life more beautiful. As we live in an epoch of great social changes, of valiant advances into space, of the shaping of truly human relations rich in strong, splendid feelings, our artists and writers are faced with the task of portraying this new socialist feeling in their works.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is determined that socialist realism shall do justice to this task through a profound content of ideas, more imagination and a genuinely renewed spirit, drawing upon a wide range of creative possibilities, genres and styles. Such works portraying what is new in our society require the greatest artistic skill based on the links between art and life.

Socialist art is a partisan and humanist art, calling for a determined struggle against militarist and clericalist tendencies in West German art, against the influence of decadent art, which is an expression of the process of cultural decay in capitalist society. The Socialist Unity Party leads the fight in defence of German art; it supports every humanist effort, every genuine effort to achieve quality in art.

The growing community of professional and amateur artists will result in a creative enrichment of their work and lead to that new quality which is characterized by artistic mastery, partisanship and close community with the people. Amateur art now helps many working people to develop their talents; it is becoming a source of enrichment of art and literature. The new tasks of amateur artists demand an avoidance of one-sided concentration on folk art of the past. The new folk art should give the valuable ideal and artistically valuable legacy of German folk art and the folklore of the fraternal socialist countries their place. Its contents and its forms should derive in the main from the new socialist life of the people. It must help shape this life and influence people's thinking, feelings and attitude.

A new, socialist style of living with a due place for the artistic element in its manifold forms is to be developed in the enterprise and agricultural production cooperatives, in residential districts in the towns, in workers' settlements, in villages and particularly in new residential areas. The socialist revolution in culture is creatively reflected in the movement of worker-writers and farmer-writers, in journals kept by work teams, in amateur orchestras and choirs, workers' theatres, amateur paintings and sculptures, in all other branches of amateur art and in workers' and village clubs. New socialist relations are encouraged between artists and writers and nationally-owned enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, and especially with socialist labour teams. New facilities conforming to the development of a new socialist way of life are being set up in villages and towns.

To develop socialist art and literature systematic measures must be taken to promote talented young artists and writers, actors, singers, musicians, dancers, producers, conductors, choir leaders and stage

managers. Art colleges and schools can do justice to these new requirements only if they establish close unity between art and life, between theory and practice. Our theatres and orchestras continually improve their artistic quality. In view of their great importance, television and radio must be equipped according to the latest scientific and technical standards. Telecasts should enrich political, ideological, scientific and cultural life. The ideological and artistic level of films must be further raised.

The development of a genuine people's art, high cultural achievements, mutual cooperation with the culture of the socialist countries and with the progressive culture in other countries will help to enhance the reputation of the German Democratic Republic abroad.

## **VI. The Socialist World System**

The socialist world system is the greatest achievement of the international labour movement in our century, the century of the victory of socialism and communism. The socialist world system began and has its basis in the USSR. Under the leadership of the CPSU the Russian working class forged ahead of the other sections of the international labour movement, carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, and established a new type of state — the first socialist state in the world, the first victorious dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Union has for the first time in history consistently implemented Lenin's teaching on socialist revolution and Lenin's plan of socialist construction.

Under extremely complicated conditions, with great sacrifices and privations in the wars of intervention and in the fight against the constant efforts of world imperialism to disrupt it, the Soviet Union was the first and for decades the only country to march along what was still the uncharted road of socialist construction. The great historic achievement of the CPSU and the Soviet people is reflected in the complete victory of socialism and in the transition to the all-round building of communism. Thanks to the theoretical and practical work of the CPSU the international labour movement has received a science of the construction of socialism tried and tested in practice, it has gained fundamental experience in how to change the class structure of society and establish new socialist relations between people and nations.

The peoples of the socialist camp, the young nation-states and the working class in the capitalist countries today see the Soviet Union as the example of successful struggle for progress and well-being. They realize that the liberated working class leads the peoples to the peaks of technology and science, to the fulfilment of men's loftiest dreams as expressed in the glorious flights of the Soviet cosmonauts. The Soviet Union is a pioneer and — in the truest sense of the word — the vanguard of the international proletariat and it works in the Leninist spirit by the force of example. The international effectiveness of the example set by the Soviet Union is rooted in the law of development of society in

our epoch, in the fulfilment of the historic mission of the working class. It is the permanent merit of the CPSU and of the entire Soviet people that they have blazed the trail to socialism which is now being successfully followed by all peoples of the socialist world system with due regard to their own national conditions, and which will be followed by all peoples of the world in the future.

As the most experienced, most powerful and the leading country of the socialist world system the Soviet Union, faithful to Lenin's principle of proletarian internationalism, gives invaluable political and material fraternal help to the socialist countries. The Soviet Union is making the biggest and the most effective contribution to the defence of all the countries of the socialist world system.

Faithful to Lenin's strategy and tactics, the Soviet Union has, ever since it came into existence, expounded a policy of peace and coexistence with countries of different social systems. The prevention of world war and the thwarting and checking of numerous imperialist war provocations prove how correct, principled and elastic Soviet foreign policy is. The peoples of the world rightly consider that the USSR, the CPSU and its Leninist leadership have saved peace and protected mankind from a devastating nuclear war. The path taken and the work of the Soviet Union are Leninism in action.

As the vanguard of mankind, the Soviet Union was and is the great moral and political hope of the international revolutionary labour movement and of the peoples in their world-wide struggle against imperialism and war.

Their attitude to the Soviet Union — the centre of the international labour movement, the bulwark of Marxism-Leninism and of peace — is now as before the test for the policy of the communist and workers' parties and of the socialist states. This attitude is decisive for the successful struggle against revisionism, sectarianism and nationalism. It guarantees the purity of the humanist revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the unity and closed ranks of the socialist world system and of the international working class movement.

The socialist world system is the social and political community of free and sovereign peoples marching forward to socialism and communism, united by the community of interests and aims, by the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism, by the unbreakable links of international socialist solidarity.

The union of the socialist countries in the socialist world system, their unity and closed ranks, protect them from imperialist attacks and assure the complete and final victory of socialism. The socialist world system pursues a policy of economic competition. It is determined to defeat imperialism mainly in the economic field. The tremendous successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in economy, science and technology exert an ever growing influence on international developments. Thanks to the peaceful competition between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism, more favourable conditions are

growing up in the capitalist countries for the victory of the socialist revolution.

The constant improvement of the socialist world system and of the forms of relations and cooperation between the socialist countries is a process governed by the laws of social development. The community of socialist countries achieves its aims through all-round political, economic and cultural cooperation. In doing this the socialist countries are guided by the principles of full equality and mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, of fraternal mutual aid and mutual advantage. Nobody has or can possibly have any special rights or privileges in the socialist camp.

For the world-wide victory of socialism, for further progress in the socialist countries and for improvements in the living conditions of their peoples, it is necessary to utilize to the maximum such great advantages of the socialist world system as international economic cooperation and the division of labour and the development of the socialist world market. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will combine its efforts and those of the working people of the German Democratic Republic with the efforts of the other communist and workers' parties and of the peoples of all the socialist countries to achieve a high rate of growth in industrial and agricultural output in accordance with existing possibilities. As a highly industrialized country, the German Democratic Republic will play its part in scientific and technical cooperation within the socialist camp.

The joint economic efforts undertaken by the socialist countries aim at gradually levelling up economic developments, and particularly at surpassing the capitalist countries in over-all industrial and agricultural production. This will also lay the material basis for the more or less simultaneous transition of the socialist countries to the construction of communism within one historical epoch.

The development of socialist construction in accordance with objective law, the rapid development of the productive forces in the socialist countries, and their common interests condition an ever-greater rapprochement of the individual national economies.

The upsurge and the approximation of the general economic level of the socialist countries will rise and will be achieved primarily by fully utilizing the internal resources of each country, by improving the forms and methods of management of the national economy and by utilizing the advantages of the socialist world system. Such an organic connection of the development of the national economies with the development and consolidation of the socialist world economic system establishes the most favourable conditions within each country for successfully overcoming growing pains in the construction of socialism and for a rapid joint movement forward.

The establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in 1949 was the foundation stone for many-sided cooperation at first in the field

of trade and later in production. Successes in economic rapprochement between the states belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid will facilitate the transition to joint economic work for all socialist countries.

The economic and political cooperation between the socialist countries has reached a new and higher level. At this stage it is particularly important to coordinate the national economic plans, to proceed to the international socialist division of labour, to cooperation and specialization in production and to collaboration in science and technology.

The socialist world system has attained such a level that it is necessary, on the basis of developing and consolidating the national economy of each country, to develop the relations between the socialist countries and to promote the gradual creation of a unified economic organism within the framework of the system as a whole.

Cooperation between the socialist peoples thus develops towards a "united world cooperative" as outlined by Lenin as early as 1918. (V. I. Lenin, *Werke* [Works], German edition, Vol. 28, p. 338)

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany devotes much attention to the encouragement of the socialist world economic system. The firmer the foundation and the better the organization of the socialist world economy and the socialist world market becomes, the more fully will it be possible to develop to the maximum the national economies of the socialist countries and the prosperity of their peoples, and to repel all attempts at disruption on the part of world imperialism. This will bring closer the day when socialism will be victorious throughout the world.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany welcomes and supports the efforts to establish gradually a unified economic organism of the states of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and later of all the states of the socialist world system. This includes drafting unified plans, first for the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and a comprehensive joint balance which could later be the basis for a collective development plan for the economy of the entire socialist world system.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will support the long-term planning already introduced by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the establishment of joint international research, development and construction institutes, and of joint economic-political organs to the best of its ability.

This calls for great efforts on the part of all the countries concerned in the fields of economy, science and technology. But these efforts are meaningful and they will bear rich fruit. All countries concerned will concentrate production to such an extent that it will be possible to make use of the most up-to-date scientific knowledge, to increase labour productivity to the utmost, and keep production costs at the lowest level. These joint efforts will open up enormous reserves which can be used for the benefit of all the peoples concerned.

In the world-wide economic competition with capitalism the socialist world system goes forward with confidence to decisive victory. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the working people of the German Democratic Republic will do all in their power to contribute to this joint victory.

## **VII. — The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Party of the Working Class and the Working People.**

The comprehensive building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic is being carried out under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the militant revolutionary party of the German working class, together with all democratic and peace-loving forces. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the conscious and organized vanguard of the German working class and the working people. It is based on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism which proves its inexhaustible ideal and material power in the transformation of the life of the German working people which began in the German Democratic Republic. The party applies the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin creatively to the specific historical conditions in Germany. It carefully guards the integrity of Marxism-Leninism and its ideological and organizational unity against all revisionist tendencies, against all dogmatic and sectarian limitations and against chauvinism and nationalist arrogance.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany submits to the whole German people its program of the all-round construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic, of struggle for peace and the interests of the nation, and it is certain that it will have the approval of all working people. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are already determining the thoughts and actions of large sections of mankind. They characterize our century, the century of the victory of socialism and communism. In the country of the birth of scientific socialism, too, in Germany, the ideas of socialism, peace and humanism will triumph and determine the new era in the history of the German people, the era of true freedom.

Under the complicated conditions arising after the collapse of the Hitler regime and particularly after the division of Germany by the imperialist western powers and West German imperialists, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany carried out the correct policy which resulted in great successes in building socialism and safeguarding peace. It thus proved to be a powerful revolutionary and creative force. As the party of peace and national unity, democracy, freedom and socialism, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has won the confidence of the working masses and at the same time incurred the bitter hatred of the imperialists and their accomplices. It is a party whose words and actions are in full agreement. It puts into practice all truly revolutionary programs of the German working class movement, including the "Principles and Aims" it proclaimed in 1946. It honours the great revolutionary traditions of the German working class movement and fulfils the legacy of those

who lost their lives in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, against reaction and fascism, against militarism and war.

Since its foundation the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has gone through an important process of development in the course of which it strengthened its ranks and was able to solve new and greater tasks. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany acquired these qualities in the persistent struggle to solve the vital problems of the nation and to improve living conditions for all strata of the population of our Republic. In this it made use of the wealth of experience of the entire socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The party is there for the people, it serves the people. Party members therefore have the duty to explain the policy of the party to the masses and at the same time to learn from the masses. Party members must set an example to all working people in carrying out economic, state and cultural tasks. Before taking important steps the party always endeavours to convince the working people of their correctness and necessity. It never conceals from the masses shortcomings and set-backs in the struggle. It will continue to do everything in its power to draw the working class and all other working people into the struggle to form socialist life in all spheres of economy, state, science and culture. The party untiringly consolidates the alliance between the working class, farmers, intelligentsia and other working strata and improves cooperation with the patriotic forces, parties and organizations united in the National Front of Democratic Germany.

With the all-round construction of socialism the Socialist Unity Party of Germany also enters a new, higher stage in its development. It is the main task of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to expand the initiative of all citizens for the further development of socialist society. The party plays an increasingly leading role in all spheres of economic, political and cultural life in our Republic. Under the leadership of the party of the working class and united in the National Front of Democratic Germany, the working people of the German Democratic Republic will take a great step forward.

The all-round building of socialism makes great demands on all party members and party organizations and demands a new quality in party work. This is expressed in the fact that the party takes the foremost position as the leading and guiding force in the struggle for the extensive construction of socialism in all fields. Its leadership is organized in accordance with the production principle.

As a part of the people the party develops confident comradely relations with all working people. It makes close contacts with the masses and arouses their creative activity and initiative. It overcomes all formal and schematic methods of leadership and, through good leadership and coordination of all party organs and social forces, ensures high effectiveness in party work.

The creative application of Lenin's norms of party life is a fundamental condition for solving new tasks. As the conscious and organized vanguard

of the working class, our party functions in accordance with the living principle of democratic centralism. It combines the principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority, the direction of the whole party from an elected centre and the execution of all decisions of the Central Committee by all basic organizations with the struggle against conservatism and dogmatic rigidity. The party combats the cult of the personality and its consequences. It struggles against the dogmatic ideological conceptions that were fostered during the period of the personality cult. It consciously develops factual, broad and principled criticism and self-criticism which orient all party members to the solution of the main tasks. The party does not tolerate violations of collective leadership and at the same time educates its members to shoulder greater personal responsibility. The party rejects the cult of the personality, the nature of which leads to the under-estimation of collective leadership, democratic centralism and the role of the masses. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has systematically improved collective leadership and its style of work. It has constantly opposed bureaucracy. During this process the party has overcome revisionist groups, fought unwaveringly against dogmatism, individual sectarianism and opportunist ideas and has strengthened itself internally.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany always proceeds from the oft-proven fact that the masses are the actual creators of history. It is guided by the view that the people are growing and developing their good qualities and becoming socialist personalities as a result of the part they play in building socialism. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany advocates the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role of the individual, that the activity of the individual must be seen as a necessary link in a chain of historically necessary events and that these events must be dealt with accordingly. Our party is proud that it has produced thousands of political leaders who have close contacts with the people.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany educates all party members in the spirit of proletarian discipline, a voluntary self-discipline. It always proceeds from the conception that there is no objective contradiction between party interests and the personal interests of its members. Only in the party and through the party can each individual comrade fully develop his personality and further his own correctly understood interests.

The party will continue to improve its political, ideological and organizational work in the period of the comprehensive construction of socialism so as to enable the working class and all other working people to master the new, complicated problems. It sees to it that all its members seek constantly to expand their professional and political knowledge and to head the struggle for what is new and progressive. The party's ideological and propaganda work, which centres around the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in close connection with practice in the all-round construction of socialism, is steadily gaining importance. The acquisition of scientific knowledge must be coupled with a higher level of leadership, planning and execution of tasks which must be solved in

the course of the comprehensive construction of socialism. This is the new quality in party work.

The education and qualification of party members requires general improvement and strengthening of the work of the basic organizations. The leading party organs help the basic organizations to implement the policy of the party independently and creatively. They qualify party members to recognize new developments and to take advantage of the most advanced experience. The strict adherence to the further development of inner-party democracy, an increase in the number of active party members and the enlistment of many party members and non-party people for voluntary work will raise the fighting strength of the party, increase its activity and make it possible further to reduce the number of full time workers in the party apparatus. An important prerequisite for successful work is the correct selection, encouragement and appointment to responsible posts of young people who have acquired the necessary scientific and political knowledge.

The party considers it necessary for members and co-workers in leading party organs in the elected state bodies and leading economic organs and their commissions, work groups or active groups to take a direct part in drafting and carrying out decisions. The party, as the highest form of class organization of the working class, will encourage the trade unions, the Free German Youth, the Women's Democratic Federation, the German League of Culture and other democratic mass organizations to fulfil their tasks in connection with the all-round construction of socialism.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany proclaims its fraternal bonds with the West German working class and the Communist Party of Germany, the Marxist-Leninist party in West Germany. This bond is based on the joint struggle against West German imperialism and militarism, for peace, democracy and socialism. It is based on the glorious history of the revolutionary German working class movement and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which also show the working people of West Germany the road to a happy future.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany educates its members and all citizens of our Republic in the spirit of friendship with all peoples, particularly in the spirit of unbreakable friendship with the Soviet people. It always proceeds from the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the most experienced of all communist and workers' parties and is therefore an example to them. Our party stands firmly at the side of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under whose leadership the Soviet people have, in the building of communism, realized the boldest dreams of mankind. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has fraternal bonds with the communist and workers' parties throughout the world, whose strength and influence are steadily growing. Together with them it struggles to safeguard peace and to assure the triumph of the noble ideas of socialism and communism. It works actively for unity among the countries of the socialist world system and the communist and working

class movement. It stands firmly on the foundation of the joint declaration of the communist and workers' parties of 1957 and 1960.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany always endeavours to consolidate the bonds of friendship and international solidarity with the working class of France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the other capitalist countries of Europe struggling for their social liberation, against West German militarism and revanchism. It advocates close cooperation and friendship and firm alliance with the people who have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke and it supports the national liberation movement of those people who are fighting against imperialism and for their independence.

The powerful movement of the peoples for social progress led by the communist and workers' parties has won great victories in all continents. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is proud to belong to this powerful and invincible movement of socialism and communism and will do its duty towards the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, the international working class and all peace-loving people throughout the world.

## Part Three

# Communism – the Future of Mankind

Socialism is the first stage of the development of communism. At its 22nd Congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was already able to adopt the program for the creation of the communist society, for the next and highest stage of development. Communist society is the society of creative labour and abundance for all, a society of a cultured and meaningful life for all, a society of the full development of the personality, of liberty, equality and fraternity. In the German Democratic Republic, too, the comprehensive building of socialism is the basis for the further development of society and the later construction of communism.

In line with the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the construction of communism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, lays the foundation for transition from the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to the communist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It is already obvious that this process of transition will take place step by step in a relatively short historical period of a few decades. In general its main characteristics and features will be similar in the socialist countries, although there will be a number of differences owing to the historical development of the individual country, the level of its economy and culture. This is also true for the German Democratic Republic.

In its program of communist construction the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has opened a new chapter in the development not only of the Soviet Union itself but of the entire socialist world system. The joint development of the socialist states within the united socialist world system and the application of the social laws and advantages of this system open up perspectives for the more or less simultaneous transition to communism within the same historical epoch.

What is communism? The Socialist Unity Party of Germany agrees with the definition contained in the "Communist Manifesto of the 20th Century" which is based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as on a wealth of experiences from several decades of socialist construction:

"Communism is a classless social system in which the means of production are the common property of the people and in which all members of society are socially completely equal, in which the all-round development of the individual on the basis of regularly advancing science and tech-

nology leads to the growth of the productive forces, in which all sources of social wealth flow more abundantly and in which the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' prevails. Communism is a highly organized society of free working people of high consciousness living in a self-administered society in which work for the benefit of society has become a prime need of all, a conscious necessity, and wherein each contributes his abilities for the greatest good of the people." (*Programm und Statut der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion*. Angenommen auf dem XXII. Parteitag der KPdSU, 17. bis 31. Oktober 1961, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1961, p. 59.)

Due to the rapid advance of science and technology communism guarantees the continuous development of social production and increased labour productivity; it equips man with the most perfect and most efficient technology.

Classes will no longer exist under communism. Social, economic, cultural and other differences in ways of living between town and countryside will gradually disappear. With regard to the development of productive forces and the character of labour, the forms of productive relations, living conditions and the well-being of the population, villages will reach the same level as towns. With the victory of communism mental and physical work in production will organically merge. Manual workers will reach the same cultural and technical standards as mental workers.

Thus communism puts an end to the division of society into classes and social strata, whereas the previous history of mankind, with the exception of primeval times, has been a history of class society.

Under communism the relationship between the individual and society will develop harmoniously on the basis of the unity of social and personal interests. People's requirements and desires will, in all their variety, be an expression of the healthy, reasonable needs of the universally developed man.

The aim of communist production is to provide for the steady progress of society and to meet the growing material and cultural requirements of each member of society according to his individual needs and tastes. People's needs will be met with the help of social funds. Individual consumer goods will be the unrestricted property of each member of society.

Highly organized production and highly developed technology in communist society change the character of labour. But this will by no means exempt members of society from the necessity of working. All who are able to work will take part in social labour and steadily increase the material and spiritual wealth of society. All members of society will, as a result of the changed character of labour and their high consciousness, have an inner need to work voluntarily for the common good according to their abilities and inclinations.

Communist production requires a high degree of organization, exactitude and discipline which is not maintained by force, but by a social sense of duty, by the entire way of life of communist society. Labour will

cease to be a mere means of existence; it will become truly creative and a source of joy.

The abilities, talents and the best moral qualities of free man will flourish and fully develop. Thus the last vestiges of the inequality of women in daily life will be removed. Family ties will be completely free of material considerations and will be based on mutual love and friendship.

Under communism the nations will grow closer to each other in every respect due to the complete community of their economic, political and intellectual interests and their fraternal friendship and cooperation.

This is a great and noble aim for which it is worth working, struggling and devoting one's entire energies. This is the type of social order worthy of free and creative mankind.

Whereas the transition from capitalism to socialism arises from the class struggle and necessitates a radical change in social relations, the transition from socialism to communism occurs without the existence of an exploiting class, and under conditions in which all members of society — the workers, farmers and the intelligentsia — are deeply interested in the victory of communism and are consciously struggling for it.

It is therefore natural that the construction of communism will be achieved by the most democratic methods, by means of perfecting and developing social relations, with the withering away of the old and the rise of new forms of living, and their interlacing and interplay. In the period of transition from socialism to communism, society as a rule will no longer experience those difficulties which result from the class struggle within a country during the process of building socialism.

The all-round construction of socialism and, after its completion, the transition to communism in the German Democratic Republic take place independently of developments in West Germany. But the special historical situation in divided Germany has led to the appearance of special conditions with regard both to the comprehensive building of socialism and the natural transition to communism in the German Democratic Republic. These conditions are connected with the special character of the two German states and their opposite development.

Now that socialist relations of production have prevailed in the German Democratic Republic, the all-round construction of socialism can proceed at a rapid pace. The working people of the German Democratic Republic are aware that this great and noble task calls for the unfolding of all creative forces of the people and for conscious and persistent work by all citizens without exception. With the comprehensive building of socialism the working people of the German Democratic Republic are setting an example to the working people of West Germany. They are the pioneers of a happy future for the entire German nation.

As a result of the successful establishment of socialist relations of production the German Democratic Republic is a whole epoch ahead of West Germany. In West Germany the working people have been prevented by the imperialist western powers, by German monopoly capital and its sup-

porters within the right-wing social democratic leadership from embarking on the road to socialism, from developing in line with our modern socialist epoch. Thus in West Germany the decaying parasitic capitalist system was kept alive artificially by fraud, force and bribery, much to the detriment of the German people and particularly the population of West Germany. The West German state, ruled by monopoly capitalism, militarism and clericalism, pursues an anti-national policy, threatens peace and the lives of the German people. The working people of West Germany cannot and will not tolerate this state of affairs if they want to live in peace and security.

Whenever a unified people in a unified state embark on the road to socialism and, later on, to communism the ideological, moral and economic problems are solved step by step for the whole of society, for the entire people. This is impossible under the conditions of a nation divided into two states with different social systems. There are two fundamentally different lines of development. Under such conditions, traces of out-dated ideologies, the prejudices of the old doomed social system, the symptoms of decay of the declining system remain with us much longer. Much greater and persevering efforts are therefore necessary in order to create, despite these delaying factors, and in the shortest possible period, the economic foundations and the ideological and political-moral unity of the entire people which are so necessary for the completion of the all-round socialist construction.

The most favourable conditions for the all-round socialist construction and for the transition to communism in the German Democratic Republic will exist when imperialism and militarism in West Germany have been overcome and when both states compete with each other within the framework of a confederation under the conditions of safeguarded peaceful coexistence. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will bear these specific conditions carefully in mind in all decisions on further steps to be taken in the direction of communism.

The comprehensive construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic, like the entire history of the German working class movement and of our development in creating a socialist order, is no easy ride on a smooth road. Each step forward must be achieved through purposeful work and with great effort in a complicated struggle. History shows that this is not unusual, but the normal course of social development.

Under the specific conditions of the existence of the two German states with different social systems, each step requires especially careful consideration and examination. In this respect the knowledge and experience of developments up to now is of inestimable value to us and, to no less a degree, to the working people of West Germany.

The all-round construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic is a great and responsible task. It requires the entire strength of the party of the working class and of all citizens of the first German workers' and farmers' state united in the National Front of Democratic Germany.

That the German Democratic Republic can fulfil this great and difficult task is due only to the successes achieved by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by the peoples of the Soviet Union, and due to the existence and firm unity of the socialist camp. The development of the relation of forces in the world to which the German Democratic Republic has also contributed, affects the competition between the two German states and decisively influences its outcome. The further strengthening of the economic power of the socialist camp will also create new and better conditions for the German Democratic Republic's peaceful competition with West Germany and for the comprehensive construction of socialism in our Republic. The all-round building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic will be an important contribution towards further undermining the foundation of German imperialism in West Germany. It will strengthen the peace-loving democratic forces in West Germany in their struggle against imperialist and militarist rule.

On the other hand, however, the enemy will not be idle. The ruling circles in West Germany will try to disrupt the all-round building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic by all means at their disposal. It is therefore necessary to close our ranks firmly in order to complete this great work.

The complete, comprehensive construction of socialism in the German Democratic Republic is a basic condition for the solution of the national question in Germany and thus for the reunification of the nation which is divided into two states. It corresponds to the objective law of development of the nation in the modern epoch and takes into consideration the lessons of German history.

Socialism is the future of the entire German people. It will raise the national community to a higher plane. Through the construction of socialist society and the elimination of class antagonisms the German nation will have a new social foundation. Only as a socialist nation can it achieve a stable unity, the secure perspective of peaceful development and a respected place among the nations of the world. Through peaceful labour, socialism will lead the German nation to prosperity and greatness.

Socialism is the result of countless good deeds by millions of people. It is the conscious, planned realization of all the ideals of freedom and progressive striving of the German working people. It is the transition to the realm of true humanity, of equality and fraternity, of peace and liberty.

